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BARON VON HÜGEL ON THE TRANSCENDENCE OF GOD

"One may find many a suggestion made by the Baron unacceptable; some of his theories nebulous to the point of unintelligibility; and a few of his ideas difficult to reconcile with orthodoxy. But both his personality and his work manifest a spirit so profound, so religious, and, one must admit, so fully Christian, that no follower of Christ can consider the writings negligible, or refuse the writer the homage of his love and admiration."*

THESE words were written by Père de Grandmaison, S.J., the year after the death of Baron Von Hügel. They should serve to fix the attention on the writings of a religious philosopher still too little known to his fellow-Catholics. Not only was his spirit profoundly Christian, but he possessed "intellectual courage, vast and exact learning, original and often lofty thought—qualities which in so high a degree are rare indeed".† One of his favourite and most important doctrines was the transcendence of God. Like all his teachings, it is scattered through many books, and expressed in a rambling and difficult manner. In this article will be found an orderly summary of his ideas on the subject, with some suggestions to assist the reader in forming a judgement upon them.

I.—THE PLACE OF THE DOCTRINE IN HIS LIFE

In later life nothing interested Von Hügel more than the defence of God's transcendence against the "all but universal pantheism of our times"‡; and it was on this point chiefly that he dissented from his many modernist friends; there were, he wrote, among the men grouped together under the name of modernist, men of two fundamentally different, and in fact irreconcilable, tendencies. This difference did not show itself at the beginning,

* *Récherches de Science Religieuse*, 1926, pp. 168-72.

† Ibid.

‡ *Selected Letters*, ed. Bernard Holland, 1933 (SL.), p. 347.

but the trials of life, and the logical development of the two positions made this difference more and more evident. The chief and decisive difference seems to me now to be the difference between *religion conceived as a purely intrahuman phenomenon, non-evidential beyond the aspirations of the human race, and religion conceived as essentially evidential, metaphysical, an effect produced within us by something more than ourselves—something more than any merely human facts or desires.**

He was right in regarding the question of pantheism as fundamental. For though modernism as a heresy consists of a number of theological affirmations, and though these affirmations can be made by men who are not pantheists, at least consciously, the fact remains that modernism was actually a development, and a logical development, of the pantheistic philosophy of Spinoza, of Schleiermacher, and of Hegel. Modernism also distrusts intellect and its inferences, and looks to the experience furnished by our will and our emotions as the source of knowledge of God, but that is primarily a matter of method. The root of modernism is the belief that the tendency towards religion found in the will and the emotions is not the attraction of a God outside and above the world, but a manifestation of an Infinity in man himself; that indeed men and all worldly things are only modifications or emanations or concrete realizations of the one Infinite.

Though Von Hügel gave special attention to the transcendence of God in the later part of his life, this concept was not a novel one for him, but an essential element in the rich, many-sided idea of God which he had acquired during his early years, while he was painfully emancipating himself from the pseudo-theology of Hegelianism. Even in 1907 we find him writing to Father Tyrrell:

I feel strongly, somehow, that your treatment of the old transcendent conception of God as requiring to be reformulated, *en toutes pièces*, by an immanent one, is somehow a bit of most tempting, yet nevertheless impoverishing, simplification . . . experience is *essentially* as truly of God transcendent as of God immanent.†

* *SL.*, p. 333 (originally in French).

† *SL.*, p. 139.

The increase in emphasis on this was due partly to the fact that Von Hügel had already treated the immanent aspect of God sufficiently in *The Mystical Element of Religion*, and partly to the experience of the havoc an imperfect grasp of the transcendence of God was working among his friends.

II.—HIS NOTION OF GOD'S TRANSCENDENCE

For Von Hügel transcendence is a word of wide meaning; as applied to God it signifies that He is not a creation or a mirage of the mind, but an objective reality, real by Himself, with no dependence on our thought, and determining our thought by His reality—"evidential". This is opposed to subjectivist forms of pantheism, which according to Von Hügel are the least consistent of all: "Subjectivism would I think if pressed make short work of even this 'God'."* It also means that God is neither one amongst the many realities of this world, nor a mere totality of them all, but distinguished from all of them, "other, over-against"—not merely distinguished as one aspect or value in a thing is distinguished from another, but distinct and separate as one complete subsisting substance is distinct and separate from another. And finally, it means that God is above all other realities, that He is the "Infinite", the "Great Reality", so "unlike" and "contrasting" that there is no comparison between Him and them. These senses oppose the many forms of realistic pantheism which identify the world with God or God with the world, while at the same time they avoid the notion of a limited God.

The opposite of transcendence is immanence, and in so far as immanence is taken as an identity of substance, Von Hügel refused to admit that God is immanent to the world; he classified all the theories he was attacking as "immanentist". But immanence can also mean intimate presence, control and knowledge, and in this sense is a necessary consequence of God's transcendence; no one

* *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion*, Second Series, 1930 (E.A. II), p. 120.

was more insistent on God's immanence in this sense than Von Hügel. His notion of God squares perfectly with St. Paul's phrase: "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in all."*

III.—THE PROOFS OF GOD'S TRANSCENDENCE

Powerful and moving as are his developments of the foregoing ideas, there is more that is novel and interesting to be found in his manner of proof. An admirer of Newman, a friend of Holtzmann, of Troeltsch and of Loisy, moving in English circles, where moralism and empiricism are predominant, he was less inclined to look for or value intellectual proofs than those to be found in experience. His books are a powerful antidote to modernism just because he takes the same starting-point as the modernists, the religious experience of the individual and the historical religions in their tangible reality, and nevertheless arrives at conclusions totally different to theirs. In this proof the intellect, of course, plays a part, but not so much by making inferences as by discovering, analysing, formulating and defending concrete religious experience. It is not the mind alone that finds God, but the whole man, for in all experience

the spontaneous awareness of other realities by myself, the reality Man, contains always, from the first, both matter and form, and sense, reason, feeling, volition, all more or less in action.†

Better, it is the inmost self that knows by means of all its faculties :

The preference is to be given not to one function or element of the living man, but to the sum-total ; or rather the underlying unique root and centre of these functions and elements, against any one of them, be they which they will.‡

The richer the experience is, Von Hügel believes, the more likely is man to reach the full notion of God.

It is possible to separate Von Hügel's complex proofs of God's transcendence into three main categories,

* *Ephesians* iv, 6.

† *E.A.* I (First Series 1931), p.68.

‡ *SL.*, p.112.

corresponding to the three spheres of man's inner life, his sense awareness and activity, his rational and moral functions, his inmost spiritual life—a division that runs through all Von Hügel's writings. The first category contains the proofs from the historical religions, which are known by the senses, by external experience and testimony; the second contains philosophical proofs, the work chiefly of the busy reason; the third contains the proofs from internal religious experience, situated principally in the inmost centre of the soul.

(a) *The evidence of historical religion.* It has been common since Hegel to explain religious doctrines and actions as an imperfect, symbolical expression of the life of the Spirit. The depths of things are finally explained by philosophy, which shows that God and the world are not two things, entering at moments of history into occasional and free relations, inviting, approaching, rebelling, repelling, but one thing, immobile or developing according to fixed eternal laws. Philosophy reveals the true sense of the picturesque symbols of religion: the Trinity symbolizes the progressive determination of the Absolute, the Incarnation and Cross the necessary manifestation of the Absolute as world and suffering—a stage of heroic struggle and self-denial that it must pass through to attain its full perfection.

Von Hügel, attacking this view, recalls us to contact with the facts. Religion as it appears in history does not admit of such an explanation. Jesus Christ emphasized the transcendence of God, in comparison with whom the world is worth nothing. He was Himself immanent as a man amongst us, but His very condescension was so extraordinary that thereby He revealed Himself as utterly different to all other men, divinely above us. He claimed to exist "before Abraham was", in the bosom of the Father; to have come to the world by free love to take us with Him to the Father. We are divinized not by a necessary evolution, but by attachment to Him. And when describing His second Coming He points

to something not produced by the sheer evolution from below of the already extant, but by the descent from without and above,

of a newly given, a sheer illapse, of quite another quality. The magnificent massiveness of the anti-pantheism here, is a permanent service to religion of the very first magnitude.*

History shows that all attempts to interpret the Trinity as a restriction of Himself by God to lower forms were indignantly repulsed by the Church; that the Incarnation was taught to be a freely wrought union of two worlds, of themselves essentially separate; that God was conceived as perfectly blissful, with no need to perfect Himself by suffering.

"The original germ of Christian ethics", to use the words of Troeltsch, "ever remains an intensely abrupt Transcendental Ethic. The Gospel remains a promise of redemption leading us away from the world. It continually calls the human heart away from all culture, all immanence, to that which lies above both."† Yet it promises also that we shall not be absorbed by our union with God, but have our freedom and personality preserved and elevated by contact with His own.‡

In a word, religion resists all attempts to explain it as a cocoon containing a pantheistic philosophy; whether rightly or wrongly, it proposes another view of God and the world, opposed to pantheism, complicated and difficult to uphold, it is true, but not therefore less likely to be true.

Von Hügel did not write much about religions other than Christianity. It must be admitted that at times some of them have not held to the transcendence of God, but have tended to identify God with the world or with our thought of Him, or have even worshipped the world itself. Von Hügel met this objection by indicating the sources of these teachings: they were usually due to a neglect of historical fact and spiritual experience, and to an excess of philosophical speculation. They resulted from fanatical rationalism, making a petty artificial arrangement of the few elements of revelation it could easily seize and harmonize into a whole. Since such religions do not satisfy the whole man or contain the whole reality,

* *EA. I*, p. 132.

† *The Mystical Element of Religion*, 1927, Vol. II (*ME. II*), pp. 359-60.

‡ *ME. II*, p. 334.

it is usually not long before they vanish and give place to a long period of agnosticism. Pantheistic religion is self-destructive.*

It was not Von Hügel's purpose to write apologetics, but rather to enlighten those already anxious to believe.† Nevertheless, he pointed out that the mass of testimony now collected by the students of historical religion has a probative force of its own. Tiele and Troeltsch ask whether the widespread belief in an ultimate meaning of life, the experience of being drawn above the lower self and placed in a state of tension with regard to this world's culture, the unrelaxing striving towards an end never seen realized here on earth, may not be due to an experience of something outside and above man. It is hard to explain all this as self-delusion and perversity. It may be that man so torments himself because he cannot help it, and because there is an Infinite dwelling within him and giving him constant unrest.‡

(b) *The evidence of mystical experience.* It used to be customary to say that genuine mysticism is of necessity pantheist, unless held in check by the influence of religious dogma. Von Hügel admits that mysticism which is untempered by the control of religious dogma is often pantheistic; but neatly turns the tables by pointing out that this "pure", or better "exclusive" mysticism is necessarily imperfect mysticism, for it lacks the fullness it would attain if it were stimulated by the balanced exercise of all human powers and attention to all sources of knowledge. Moreover, it is not hard to show that the pantheistic statements made sometimes even by Christian mystics reflect only one aspect of their experience—the awareness of God's immanence—or are due not to mysticism but to acquaintance with pantheistic philosophical writings.

In his study of St. Catherine of Genoa, which "as regards the life and doctrine of the saint is still among the most important",§ he illustrated his general theory

* ME. II, pp. 388-89.

† Cf. *The Reality of God*, 1931 (RE.), p. 33.

‡ ME. II, p. 339.

§ P. Umile da Genova, O. M. Cap., *Dict. de Spiritualité*, art. 'Cath. de Genes', 1938.

by a particular case. St. Catherine shows a tendency to conceive the soul as containing God so completely as to be identified with Him: "My Me is God, nor do I recognize any other Me except my God Himself";* in the first contact with God the limited wilful self seems to die, and God, the immense, calm and unchanging, occupies the whole attention; but this is not mysticism's last word. God is also felt as affecting the soul from outside and above, inviting it to move forward into His depths, and these depths extend further than the soul can ever go; moreover, the soul can hold back, and even turn away from God for ever in mortal sin; and so an element of opposition, of activity, of personality, responsibility and strain is added to the calm repose in God experienced in the first stage.† Finally, in union with God the soul is felt to be constituted in its own perfection and joy, for—strange truth—the personality and its action, all that is most inalienable and peculiar to us, is from God too, and must develop the more we approach Him.‡ It was in view of such experience that Von Hügel wrote to Father Tyrrell in the letter of 1907:

If one were to take your clear-cut Immanentism as final and complete, the nobler half of the religious experience of tip-toe expectation, of unfulfilled aspiration, of sense of a Divine life, of which ours but touches the outskirts, would have no place.§

But what is more interesting still is that Von Hügel does not believe that the experience of God, and God as transcendent, is the privilege of a few; rather some degree of it is common to all men. *The Mystical Element of Religion* is above all a defence of "this presence of the Infinite in Man, and man's universal subjection to an operative consciousness of it".|| The experience seems to have been strong in him, and it gives his words a warmth and an impressiveness uncommon among philosophical writers. In fact, his writings, in spite of their scientific appearance, aim largely at stimulating and clarifying this experience in his readers.

* ME. I, pp. 265-66.

† ME. I, pp. 234-347.

|| ME. II, p. 340.

† ME. I, pp. 229-33.

§ SL., p. 139.

Probably as a result of his youthful awakening to the appreciation and zealous practice of religion at the age of eighteen, under the influence of the Dominican Father Hocking and of the holy Abbé Huvelin, Von Hügel classified men into two groups, those who have not and those who have become actively religious by contact with some historical religious body. In the first group there is a sense of God so subconscious that it may remain unnoticed, though still exercising an influence on other knowledge and activity :

this sense gives a vague, yet also vivid, unbounded impulsion and unrest—a search for the clarity of something already obscurely possessed. We have something, in appearance, purely dynamic, not static ; obscure, not transparent, something which, did it remain at this stage, might—though without full satisfaction—be “explained” as purely immanent in its origin and end.*

It never appears alone, but only “in, with, through and over-against” other experiences. In the second group this sense has been

met by the clear conceptions and historical incorporations of the great world-religions, and in this meeting, the dim demand is satisfied by the clear supply, the immense movement is discovered grounded in an immense Abidingness, and all pure Immanence, however masked, however subtle, becomes and remains impossible in the long run, as a would-be adequate philosophical explanation of this great religious fact.†

Whereas the phenomena of this first, pre-religious, state are “general and inevitable” (though their degree may depend on our co-operation and goodwill), those of the second, religious state are “characteristic and free”, for in this state God’s grace is offered, and requires to be “met and accepted”.‡

Even in the first state grace may be and probably is present, for “the dispensation under which we men actually live is not a dispensation of Simple Nature, but a dispensation of Mingled Nature and Supernature”§ ;

* E.A. II, pp. 143-44.

† Ibid.

‡ *Readings from F. von Hügel*, selected by A. Thorold, 1929 (TR.), p. xx.

§ E.A. I, p. xiv.

but the awareness which Von Hügel describes is due to nature also, and is an awareness of God as the origin and preserver of our natural selves.

Its presence, and its witness to God's transcendence, are described as follows :

In all our knowledge of Single Things there is ever concurrently, in contrast with, and entering into, the apprehension of them, a sense of their Finitude, Contingency, Incompleteness, Insufficiency, which is not furnished by themselves even in their totality, since they each and all furnish only endless varieties of such Contingency. It is not that we contrast a permanence, or an endless succession, of such contingent objects, with the fleetingness of any one of them ; but that *all* mere Succession and Fleetingness is keenly apprehended as contrasting with (and it spontaneously awakens) a sense of Simultaneity and Abidingness, as somehow superior to, and normative of, as somehow alone giving dignity and worth to, all that flux and relativity.*

Notice that it is a "sense", not an idea :

We will have to postulate not merely an intellectual reasoning upon finite data . . . not even simply a mental category of Infinitude . . . but the ontological presence of, and the operative penetration by, the Infinite Spirit, within the human spirit. This Spirit's presence would produce, upon occasion of man's apprehension or volition of things contingent and finite, the keen sense of disappointment, of contrast with the Simultaneous, Abiding and Infinite.†

This awareness of God is both immediate and mediate. It is immediate in being a kind of mystical perception of God Himself in His own action upon the soul, a contact and experience preceding, though not replacing, all other experience. It is mediate in that it is never given alone, but only, by a kind of occasionalism, as the primary element in a total experience of God and other things, and is brought to us and increased by the "vehicles"‡ of things other than God.

To admit these characteristics is to be compelled to admit the genuineness of the experience described ; an

* *Eternal Life*, 1929 (EL.), pp. 153-54.

† *ME.* II., pp. 282-83.

‡ *RG.*, p. 141.

awareness which precedes and is at the root of all other awarenesses can hardly be explained as a resultant or misinterpretation of one or many of them; and its quality of transcendence, of contrast with the rest, forbids us to identify it with any awareness of created things.

Many who find immediate awareness of God brought into the natural order are inclined at once to raise the cry of Ontologism. But Von Hügel expressly defended himself against this charge :

Let the reader note that this is not Ontologism, for we here neither deduce our other ideas from the idea of God [as Rosmini did], nor do we argue from ideas and their clarity [like Anselm], but from living forces and their operativeness.*

It is true that Von Hügel is rather in the Platonic than in the Aristotelian tradition, closer to Augustine than to Thomas; but this is not to come under suspicion. The official condemnation of Ontologism in 1861 only fell on certain extreme doctrines, which led directly to Pantheism; whereas Von Hügel's teaching is extremely moderate, does not derive other knowledge from the knowledge about God, asserts that this knowledge is very dim, and insists on the transcendence, the "otherness", of God as He appears in it.

We may doubt whether the mystical experience of God, at least in any perceptible degree, is so widely present among people of religious life as Von Hügel believed it was; but in the idea that there is an ordinary knowledge of God analogous in character to that of the mystics an increasing number of Catholic writers are coming to agree with Von Hügel. The theories about the nature of higher mysticism put forward by a Père Poulain, a Père Picard, a Père Maréchal, a Monsignor Saudreau, and the theories of these writers about cognition in general, are closely related; each of them finds in ordinary cognition a preparation, a place of insertion for the illumination of faith and the intenser influence of the Holy Spirit in mystical experience. Père Picard

* *ME.* II., p. 283.

holds that there is in every soul an obscure but immediate awareness of God, though, unlike Von Hügel, he does not consider that it enters into all other awarenesses. Père Maréchal does not admit an immediate vision of God even in mysticism (except for some rare cases), but defends a kind of union of love, a straining of the soul to God which is aroused by God Himself, and in which His presence is as it were felt, and he believes that there is in nature too a similar straining towards God, and that to this is due all interest of the higher self in other objects, particularly objects of knowledge, for in these it recognizes participations of God and steps towards Him.

Some such theory as the last would best account for the facts Von Hügel describes so impressively, if it be remembered that his descriptions are not made with technical precision, and words such as "sense", "experience", "vision" be not pressed too strongly. It would explain why concrete experience is to be preferred to abstract ideas, why external experience, the Church's teachings and philosophical and theological reasoning, as well as grace and the internal experience of the spirit, are necessary for a full mystical life, and how it is that the supernatural and the natural, mysticism, faith and reason, form one harmonious whole.

(c) *The evidence of philosophy.* This section can be short, for though Von Hügel held that the reasoning intellect has a certain autonomy, and its proofs a force of their own, owing to a distrust of Hegelian dialectics he makes very little use of strictly rational processes in his writings, and when he speaks of philosophy he usually means the study of all the pre-religious sphere of life, and predominantly of the natural awareness of God already referred to.

It is true that for him occupation with created things, "that tough, bewildering, yet immensely inspiring and truthfully testing thing, life as it is and as it surrounds us from the first",* life which includes the experience of the exterior world, is most important. He will have no Augustinian seclusion in the depths of the soul to know "God and the soul alone". In taking this attitude he was

* RG., p. 30.

abandoning his early habits of thought, and the struggle to reach it went on all his life. He states the principle with most force in his last book *The Reality of God*; it was partly due to a late familiarity with St. Thomas and admiration for his objectivity; and it puts Von Hügel among the modern realists, in the line of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, of Heidegger and Jaspers, of Bergson and G. Marcel, of the Neo-Scholastics.

He justifies his position by a principle of realism which, though on the right lines, is something of an afterthought in his system and would hardly stand criticism: "Philosophy to remain truly such, has to be the sensitively docile interpreter of actual life and reality", using scientific method indeed and "guarding against any wholesale conclusions", but moving "within a frank recognition of Givenness, of Otherness, of Reality . . . from the Givenness of the pebble and the star . . . on to the primary, absolute Givenness and Reality of God."* He tackled proofs of God's transcendence based upon "those greater Givennesses, the Intelligible Orders", Beauty, Truth and Morality, but added little save a new formulation to the considerations made by Windelband, Volkelt, Rickert, Sigwart and others. More impressive than his proofs is the solemnity with which he affirms that

only the experience and the conviction of an Objective Reality distinct from and more than man, or indeed than the whole of the world apprehended by man as less than, or as equal to, man himself, can furnish sufficiently deep and tenacious roots for our sense and need of an objective supreme Beauty, Truth and Goodness.†

Of Morality, which he studied with more detail and success than the rest, he remarked that beginners are largely preoccupied with ideals and with the striving to realize them, but as we advance we come to attend more carefully to the goal; for

it remains in the long run impossible for man to accept, to act in accordance with, to abandon himself to, a world and power as the very ground, home and end of his being, and as rightly claiming

* EA. I, pp. 189-90.

† EA. I, p. 90.

the most difficult virtues and heroisms, if he sees it to be no more than, indeed to be a mere abstraction formed by, himself.*

and in this way morality leads the mind on to religion, which is

busy, not directly with duties, but with happiness, or rather with the presence, a Presence which brings indeed obligations of an ever-increasing kind, but which, once His Presence Itself is strongly felt, are not apprehended as obligations, but as accessions of a peace and power which mean glimpses and reaches of joy triumphant.†

A few arguments are attempted from biology, zoology, and the order of the universe, but not worked out; it is, however, significant of his developing love of objectivity that he proposes as probably the most valuable suggestion in *The Reality of God*, the idea that such proofs from the exterior world are better approaches to God's independent reality and otherness than proofs from morality and the soul's desires, since they bring us into contact with a reality that is in no way constructed by ourselves and resists our efforts at grasping it.‡

Nevertheless, he did not completely change his habits of thought, but continued to speak as if the awareness of other things rather provoked an immediate inward knowledge of God than supplied knowledge about Him; philosophy, he says, is

a long search after a more explicit grasp of what we already dimly hold, of what, in strictness, already holds us from without and from within. It is only because God is so really within us, only because of His prevenience and incarnation, that we find His traces in our need and our perception of Him variously everywhere.§

Nor is this teaching unacceptable, if explained as we have attempted to explain it above. To a similar conviction the schools of Catholic thought are rallying today more and more; for instance, in a recent number of *Scholastik*|| Pater Rast, S.J., points out that there is

* *EL.*, pp. 205-6.

† *RG.*, pp. 94-5.

‡ *RG.*, p. 72.

§ *RG.*, p. 36.

|| 1939, *Hefte I*, p. 77. *Das Subjektive Apriori in unserer Gotteserkenntnis.*

in the mind a "metaphysical a priori" that on occasion can become a "psychological a priori", and having asked why it is that man seeks for the Whence of contingent being, answers: "Because he has an inward leaning towards the final Answer . . . Because in some mysterious way the Absolute has already dawned upon him."

B. O'BRIEN, S.J.

WALL STREET AND EUROPE

I WRITE this article under difficulties which it is as well frankly to confess. I have been asked to discuss Wall Street's attitude to the crisis, and the necessities of the press require that I should write the article at a time when the crisis has not yet been resolved. Nevertheless it is not impossible to attempt an historical sketch.

By the end of the nineteenth century the whole world, as near as makes no difference—the whole world, to be precise, except Mexico and China—had come to live under the system of the international gold standard. That system meant that every country based its monetary supply upon gold. It based it upon gold in the positive sense that it limited its monetary supply by a certain ratio to its gold holdings and gave to any possessor of its non-gold money the right to demand exchange into gold at will. It based it upon gold also in the negative sense that every country on the gold standard accepted the obligation to give full monetary effect to its gold holdings.

Thus used, gold was able to act as an equilibrating force. International trade, as indeed all trade, must necessarily be an exchange, direct or indirect, of goods or services against goods or services, and in the long run nations that wish to import must also export. That is true, whatever the financial system. But gold provided a method by which, supposing that a nation did not happen to be at the moment capable of exporting, it should be able to import and to defer payment. It could pay in gold. All transactions, international and intranational, were of course in money of a gold content. But it was only in the quite exceptional case that there was an actual physical transfer of gold. And it was supposed to be the beauty of the system that in that exceptional case the transfer supplied its own corrective.

Great Britain, it was argued, was for the moment unable to export any goods to France. Therefore she exported gold and, since both Great Britain and France accepted the obligation to give full monetary effect to all their gold holdings, the effect of the transfer was a

certain decrease in the number of pounds in circulation in Great Britain and a certain increase in the number of francs in circulation in France. As a consequence all British prices fell a little bit and all French prices rose a little bit. Therefore purchasers in a third country—say, Germany or the United States—would buy a little more in Great Britain, where prices were low, and a little less in France, where they were high, and the gold would flow back again to redress the balance.

Such was the system, whether it was a good one or a bad one. Yet goods were exported from one country to another, not only in exchange for other goods or in exchange for gold but also on deliberate long-term loans, and other goods were imported in payment of the interest and dividends on past loans. In the years before the war this problem of loans in no way made impossible the working of the system, because Great Britain, the great creditor country, was also a free-trade country, willing to accept any imports that any of her debtors cared to send her. There was no problem how debts were to be paid.

The world that emerged from the war of 1914 was a wholly different world. The great creditor country was now the United States, and the United States differed from Great Britain as a creditor in so far that she was also a high-tariff country. She was traditionally a high-tariff country, and, as long as she was also a debtor country, as she was up till 1914, her high tariffs created no international complication. For, so long as her problem was that of paying the dividends upon loans to her, it was desirable that she should export more than she imported, and the exclusion of imports created no problem. But, when she emerged as a creditor country, it was necessary that she should receive imports, if she was to receive payment. Yet, so far from reducing her tariffs after the war, the Republican régime, which came into power in 1920, greatly increased them, making them prohibitive. Yet the Americans, refusing to accept foreign goods, insisted on being paid foreign debts. If they would not accept goods, how could they be paid? They could be paid, and were paid, something in services.

The most practical plan would have been that all the European debtors of the United States should have given Americans free trips to their countries. The Americans were unwilling to accept European goods for consumption in the United States, but they were quite willing to consume European goods in the European countries. Something might have been done along those lines. Yet it cannot be seriously suggested that it would have been possible to have paid the full debts in this way, and in any event such possibilities were not exploited.

As it was, if the debts were to be paid and no effective arrangements were made for paying them either in goods or services, then it remained that they could only be paid in gold. So one-sixth of the gold in the world had made its journey across the Atlantic from east to west between 1914 and 1920 and there looked no reason why all the rest of the world's gold stock should not make the same journey in the 1920's. It did not do so, because the Americans, while nominally accepting payment of the debts due to them, in fact were not paid because they relented the money by making new foreign investments. Yet the problem how these new debts were to be paid remained still unsolved, and, so long as the high American tariff still stood and she insisted on repayment, there was no way in which they could be paid save in gold. America lived under the constant threat of being inundated with an avalanche of gold.

Now, if the United States had continued to play the game of the gold standard according to its pre-war rules, they would have been compelled to give full monetary effect to all the gold that came to their shores, and the consequence therefore would have been a drastic rise in American domestic prices. Prices would have begun to rise with increasing gold holdings, and the gradual rise might in its turn have very well caused a steep rise by destroying confidence and thus greatly increasing the velocity of circulation. Therefore in 1923 Governor Benjamin Strong, who was at that time Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, announced to the world that the United States would no longer accept the obligation to give full monetary effect to all their gold holdings.

On the contrary, while maintaining the gold convertibility of the dollar, they would put just so much money into circulation as might suffice to maintain stable domestic American prices, and, if they found themselves in possession of more gold than was necessary for this purpose, they would then just sterilize the surplus.

It is obvious that this announcement was really an announcement of the abolition of the gold standard, in the sense in which that word had previously been used. For, had they given monetary effect to their gold acquisitions there would have been a rise of American domestic prices so steep that, even in spite of the tariff, foreign products would have been able to compete against them on the American market and to beat them on the export market, and some gold would have flowed back out of America to redress the balance. But, as it was, with a stable domestic price level there was no reason why gold that had once come to America should ever again leave it.

As long as the Americans were still lending abroad, the evil effects of this system were largely masked, and throughout the 1920's the world enjoyed comparative prosperity and the illusion of security. The American foreign investor thought that he was receiving payments of his dividends. So the individual was. But America's general balance of trade was, as they say, favourable. She exported very much more than she imported. Foreign countries were therefore not, on balance, paying their debts to America, and the American who was able to cash his individual cheque was really consuming not the goods which the foreign debtor sent to him but the goods which the new American investor had abstained from consuming in order to put the money into some new investment abroad. The problem how foreign investments were at large to be repaid over the enormous American tariff was still unsolved and, as soon as the American people woke up to this fact and refused to invest any more abroad, the old investors would find it no longer possible to get payment of their dividends and the system was certain to collapse.

That is what happened at the beginning of this decade. The collapse was assisted by the British Government's obstinate adherence to the gold standard under circumstances where, with the steady drain of gold to America, gold holdings could not possibly increase in proportion to productive capacity. Therefore the British condemned themselves to a steady deflation, with deflation's inevitable concomitants of falling prices and unemployment. But a British deflation is more than an internal, it is a world, calamity. For Great Britain is so very much the largest importer of foodstuffs in the world that the world price of exported foodstuffs is the price on the London market. Now, when prices in general are falling, the price of foodstuffs falls much more sharply than that of manufactured goods. For the manufacturer can adjust his supply to the demand on short term calculations and, if prices are falling so rapidly that he cannot produce at a profit, then he ceases to produce at all. The farmer, on the other hand, unorganized, scattered throughout the world, has to sow his harvest and make his plans a year beforehand, when the monetary conditions that will be ruling when the harvest comes are certainly unknown to him and probably not known to anybody. Therefore, in the days of a falling market, he overproduces in relation to effective demand, if not in relation to real demand, and as a result there is a very steep fall in prices.

The farming community forms a much higher proportion of the population in the United States than in Great Britain. Nevertheless the farmers, though numerous, are ill-organized, and, while their interests are not quite as unscrupulously neglected as in this country, yet they are not able to exercise the weight in national politics to which their numbers entitle them. Therefore under the Republican régime, whereas the manufacturer was able to obtain high tariff protection for himself, the farmer had no tariff protection worthy of the name. As a result the manufacturer could recoup himself for any deficiencies of the world market by selling his goods at a high American price on the enormous and highly protected domestic market. But the farmer had no such remedy. Un-

protected by the tariff, he had to sell in America at the world price. Otherwise the Canadian or some other competitor would come into the American market and undersell him. Therefore, when British deflation caused a fall in the world price for foodstuffs, the result was a very drastic fall in the income of the American farmer, which made him in his turn unable to buy the product of the American manufacturer and thus caused a shrinkage of that American domestic market upon which the manufacturer depended. This also made its large contribution to the American slump of the beginning of this decade.

It was, as is well known, such a situation of chaos that President Roosevelt found when he entered into power in 1933. He found the country producing far below its capacity because falling prices made production no longer remunerative. Therefore it was his policy to raise prices somewhat, in order to give a stimulus to production and thus lighten the burden of debt and then, having raised them, to keep them stable. While raising all prices it was desirable to raise agricultural prices more than those of manufactured goods because they had previously fallen more. It was also necessary to give to agriculture equal protection to that which had been given to industry, and to divert labour from the production of goods for an export market which, owing to the policies of self-sufficiency in other countries, was unlikely ever to revive, to the production of other goods for the domestic market.

This is not the place to attempt a general estimate of the success of the policies of the New Deal. It has met with considerable success and with large difficulties. Its major difficulty as yet unsolved is that of investment. There are two extreme and logical theories of capital financing—that of communism, where the state does everything, and that of *laissez faire* liberalism, where it does nothing. President Roosevelt's intention was to steer a middle course between these two extremes. At a moment of great under-production, when new money was urgently needed and when it could easily be answered by increased productivity, what better way of issuing it

save as Government loans and investments to supply the gap which private capitalism was not ready to fill? Yet the President had no intention that the Government should do more than set the ball rolling and where, as is the case, there is lack of confidence between big business and the Government, such a partnership is very difficult to work. The Government sets the ball rolling, but it is very difficult to prevent it from stopping rolling the moment that the Government withdraws its hand from the investment-market, and the problem of a smooth transference from Government-investing to private-investing has not yet been solved.

We are, however, in this article not so much concerned with the Government's policy in general as with Wall Street's attitude towards it and towards European problems. Wishing to increase the country's monetary supply, President Roosevelt had, soon after his accession, to decide what should be his policy towards gold. There were two possible policies—one, that of breaking all connection between the dollar and gold, the other, that of increasing the gold content of the dollar. What would have been the results of the former policy? It might perhaps have been difficult to obtain public confidence for a dollar wholly unrelated to gold, and there might have been a certain risk that a policy of slight price-raising would have been spoiled by panic and led to a greatly increased velocity of circulation and runaway inflation. Other countries have, however, succeeded in preserving stability with a purely paper currency and, although it is true that the American temperament differs from that of other nations, yet it is probable that such a policy could have been managed without shipwreck for purely psychological reasons. The major reason for preserving a link between the dollar and gold was that it was necessary to preserve a way by which foreigners could buy American exports. Had the American Government refused to buy gold and at the same time persisted in excluding foreign goods by its high tariff there could have been no possible way in which foreigners could have bought American goods. The result must necessarily have been an enormous

appreciation of the dollar against all other currencies, followed soon afterwards by a complete drying-up of American exports, for which there would no longer be any possible method of paying. In so far as the object of an economic system is to provide people with as many goods as possible, it may be asked what point there was in having exports except in order to barter them for imports. But rightly or wrongly Governments are concerned as much with problems of employment as of wealth, and the Government could not possibly at that moment of nation-wide unemployment have adopted a policy which would have caused still further dislocation and further unemployment.

Therefore the Government adopted instead the policy of inflation by means of increasing the gold content of the dollar. They raised the price of gold to \$35 an ounce and announced that they would buy any gold that was offered to them at that price. The United States has thus remained on a gold standard of a sort. It is, however, a very different gold standard from that of the years before the war. Before the war we passed gold coins from hand to hand. The gold standard to which we returned after the war did not entail the actual use of gold coins in daily business. However, the gold was still in private ownership and it was therefore a system which gave enormous power to those few citizens who were the owners of substantial stocks of gold. But under the new American system no private citizen may own gold. He has to surrender it to the Government which pays him \$35 an ounce for it in paper. The Government is the owner of all the gold in America, and it still adheres to the policy initiated by Governor Strong in 1923 in refusing to give monetary effect to more than it needs for its own price policy. The surplus is sterilized.

Some critics in the English press have great stories to tell about the plots of Wall Street to bring about the conflict in Europe and to destroy the stability of the British pound and thus by forcing this country back on to gold, borrowed from America, to make us subject to Wall Street and the United States. Anyone with any knowledge of American conditions must, I think,

necessarily dismiss such speculations as fantastic in their lack of proportion. Whether or not we think the various interventions of President Roosevelt in European politics fortunate and well-timed, it is quite grotesque to attribute to him and to them any major share of responsibility for Europe's troubles. The great American contribution to the accentuation of those troubles is beyond question the immigration restriction of the years immediately after the war, but neither Mr. Roosevelt nor the present inhabitants of Wall Street can be held responsible for that. There can be no doubt of Mr. Roosevelt's genuine sympathy with the British cause and genuine opposition to German methods. Whether he is right or wrong this is not the place to argue, but it would be at least ungenerous of an English writer to complain of such a standpoint. There are some who say that Mr. Roosevelt's interventions have exasperated the Germans and made them more difficult to deal with. It is undoubtedly Mr. Roosevelt's opinion that they never had any intention of honest bargaining and that the only argument which they respect is an overwhelming display of force. Mr. Roosevelt will not have found anything in recent events to cause him to change this opinion. The objector may of course ask what purpose was served by strong words which were unbacked by deeds and say that, if America wished to talk, she should be prepared to fight. Otherwise silence were best. It is beyond the purpose of this article to follow out the lines of that argument save to remind the reader that Mr. Roosevelt is no dictator and that one of the tasks which he set himself was that of bringing along American public opinion.

But what is very certain to anyone who at all knows the American scene is that any theory which seeks to argue that the voice of Mr. Roosevelt is the voice of Wall Street is a fantastic theory. Wall Street and Mr. Roosevelt differ violently on domestic politics, and domestic hatred of Mr. Roosevelt has certainly enabled the opponents of neutrality revision to muster more votes in Congress than would have been possible had the issue been considered solely on its merits. Yet the attitude

towards Europe of the inhabitants of Wall Street certainly does not differ very greatly from that of the average American citizen. That attitude consists of an antipathy and a determination. The antipathy is the antipathy towards the present German régime, and the determination a determination that no American army shall ever again go overseas to Europe. What would happen if it should become evident that only an American army could prevent a German army from triumphing in Europe has yet to be seen. The dilemma has not yet arisen, and American opinion does not believe that it will arise.

But, apart from that, the notion that Wall Street is anxious to break the pound in order to force us back again to borrowing gold is a little fantastic. It is perfectly true that there is most evidently an unsolved problem for America of what to do with her surplus gold, and it is evident that in the long run she cannot solve that problem unless she is willing either to restrict her exports or to increase her imports to such an extent as to transform her favourable into an unfavourable balance of trade. But a disturbed Europe does not help towards a solution of the gold problem; it hinders it. For it piles up on top of all of the rest of the gold in America the "hot money"—the money which people who do not intend immediately to use it deposit in America rather than elsewhere because that is the safest place for it, ready to withdraw it again when opportunity for profitable use elsewhere presents itself. Nor does it seem to me in the least true that Wall Street is anxious to redistribute the gold over the world in its loans and thus to make the world its servant. In the first place the gold does not belong to Wall Street; it belongs to the United States Government. Secondly, war loans would not redistribute the gold, for foreign Governments would certainly use the proceeds for purchasing war supplies in the United States. Third, American opinion has tardily woken up to the truth that foreign lending is incompatible with high tariffs, and I do not think that there is any great desire today in any quarter in America to get foreign lending going again. Any loans that might be made in

the future would be made not with any great hope of their being immediately and directly profitable but rather for some political reason. Either they would be made to help a belligerent whose victory America thought essential for the survival of civilization, or alternatively as a contribution to appeasement in order to dissuade some nation from desperate remedies for a desperate disease. As such there would be hope that they would be ultimately profitable, but no great hope that they would be directly profitable or easily repaid in themselves. They would therefore be the sort of loans which Wall Street would far rather see made by the Government than by themselves.

It is doubtless true that Wall Street opinion is strongly anti-Nazi and is glad to see other people taking a strong stand against Germany, and it is doubtless true also that for this attitude it has a reason additional to those of everybody else. It is still wedded to the philosophy of private capitalism and therefore hates the rise of the new, strong totalitarian state. It hates it because it has suppressed the freedom of men similar to it in Germany. But it is not merely for reasons of philanthropic sympathy that it hates it. It sees well that only strong, centralized states can stand up against strong, centralized states, and that German totalitarianism is willy-nilly forcing America and other countries along quasi-totalitarian lines—at any rate in the sphere of finance. This inevitably means a diminution in the importance of the great private financier, and he who had previously been a master must under the new régime be content to be only a servant.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW SPANISH STATE

IN an article written for the DUBLIN REVIEW half-way through the Spanish Civil War,* I described the unification of the Nationalist organizations achieved by General Franco during the first year of the War and embodied in a decree dated 19 April, 1937 which united the Phalangists (*Falange Española*) and the Traditionalists, or Conservatives, represented in the War itself by the Carlist *Requetés*, and dissolved all other political organizations and parties. When, in the following August, the Constitution of the new single party, termed briefly the F.E.T.,† was published, it was found that a fusion with the Army had been effected, by the creation of a special military section, consisting not only of Army men who had previously been members of its component organizations, but also of all the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Nationalist forces on active service.

The administration of the new party was to be carried on by two bodies, the members of each of which were to be nominated by the Head of the State: a political board (*Junta Política*) and a "National Council", to consist of not fewer than twenty-five and not more than fifty members, and to meet "once a year and whenever else the *Caudillo*‡ decides". In December, 1937 the *Caudillo* took the oath at Burgos as Head of the F.E.T., as did the fifty newly nominated members of the first Council. These included Doña Pilar Primo de Rivera, two other women and a number of Generals, including General Queipo de Llano and General Dávila, commanders at that time of the Southern and the Northern Army respectively, and General Jordana, then President of the Technical Council of State (*Junta Técnica*), which, corresponding to a Cabinet, was created at Burgos in October, 1936, and in January, 1938 was superseded by a

* "The Evolution of the New Spain", January 1938.

† Its full title is "Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juventudes de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista."

‡ *Caudillo*, the word most generally applied in Spain to General Franco, is the equivalent of *Duce* or *Führer*.

Ministry approximating in type to that of other European countries.

The decree of 30 January, 1938, which created this Cabinet of eleven ministries, had several interesting features. General Franco continued to hold supreme command over the forces of land, sea and air, deputing the administration of these forces to the Ministry of War, with its three sub-secretaryships each representing one of the three arms. As President both of the Ministry and of the National Council he also retained a general supervision over politics and took over the task of co-ordinating the work of the departments—a duty which, again, in actual fact, was to be delegated to the Vice-President. The holder of this last important office was also charged with the supreme direction of Morocco and Spain's colonial possessions, and with that of Supplies. To the Ministry of Foreign Relations was allotted the duty of maintaining relations with the Holy See—no light responsibility in view of the reported imminence of a new Concordat. The creation of a separate Ministry of Public Order (charged also with the policing of the frontiers) was considered highly significant; the functions allocated to this had previously been performed by the Home Department, which, however, had to add to its offices that of reconstructing parts of Spain devastated by the War, to say nothing of propaganda and the tourist industry. Another significant feature of the decree was the substitution for the Ministry of Labour of a "Ministry of Syndical Action and Organization".

As almost all the members of this first Cabinet of the new Dictatorship have played, or are clearly destined to play, important parts in the government of the New Spain, it will not be irrelevant to say a few words about each of them.

Next to General Franco, whose rôle in the cabinet was that of President, or Prime Minister, the chief place was taken by the Vice-President, General Francisco Gómez Jordana. This Minister, who was also given the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and whose name became familiar after the War was over, in connection with the Franco-Spanish agreement for the restitution of gold

and war material, had fought, as a young officer, in Cuba, served on the Staff of the Spanish Army in Africa, and, after the conclusion of the Moroccan campaign, been appointed High Commissioner for Spain in that country. During the Republic he was first imprisoned and then retired, but in 1936, on the proclamation of the revolution, he rallied to the cause of General Franco, and was considered one of his most experienced advisers.

Youth, as will be seen, was given a predominant place in this Cabinet, and the youngest of its members, Don Ramón Serrano Súñer, Minister for Home Affairs, was destined to rise to a higher position than any other. Only thirty-six years of age when appointed, his unique position as brother-in-law and personal confidant of the *Caudillo* gave him opportunities denied to his colleagues, of which he speedily made ample use. A lawyer by profession, he had been a politician during most of his short career, and as Deputy for Cuenca had made his mark in the Republican Cortes. But to his political associates he was better known as an intimate friend of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falangist movement, who was shot by the Republicans during the War. He himself had been arrested in Madrid on the day of the abortive rising there at the outbreak of the Civil War; and, after suffering imprisonment in the capital until October, 1936, had contrived to escape in disguise to a foreign legation, reaching Nationalist Spain in the following spring. He was then given a post in General Franco's political secretariat and a seat in the National Council.

Count Rodezno, Minister of Justice, was another of the well-trying older men who brought to this first Cabinet the stability of experience, and who represented the Navarran traditionalists both as a historian of that province and as a Navarran deputy of over twenty years' standing. Readers of the late Don Victor Pradera's book on the New State will recall the Count's preface to that able defence of traditionalism.

Lost to the Cabinet—it is to be hoped only temporarily—Don Pedro Sainz Rodríguez is one of the few first-rate educationists in Spain, and it is much to the credit

of General Franco that he should have appointed this young professor, still only in his early forties, to be his first Minister of National Education. Elected to the Chair of Spanish Language and Literature in Oviedo University at the unusually early age of twenty-two, he was soon transferred to Madrid and had become known in many countries as a scholar and a writer when he took up parliamentary life upon the advent of the Republic. As Deputy for Santander, and as a leader in *Acción Española*, he laboured in season and out of season for traditionalist ideals. His recent eclipse is unlikely to put a stop to his activity, for he is above all a man of vision, initiative and action.

Don Raimundo Fernández Cuesta had just passed his fortieth birthday when he was appointed Minister of Agriculture. Like Señor Serrano Suñer a close friend of the founder of the Phalangist movement, he became its Secretary-General in 1934, and, with most of his fellow-officials, was imprisoned upon the accession to power of the Popular Front in the spring of 1936. He had just been released in July when the Civil War broke out and he was again arrested. After narrowly escaping inclusion in the holocaust of 22 August, 1936, when Melquiades Álvarez, Albiñana, Álvarez Valdés, Fernando Primo de Rivera and many other well-known men were shot, he was fortunate enough to be freed by means of an exchange and at once took up his old position of Phalangist Secretary-General.

The remaining members of General Franco's first Cabinet may be enumerated more rapidly. General Martínez Anido, who had been the right-hand man of Primo de Rivera in the 1923 Dictatorship, was seventy-five years of age when appointed Minister of Public Order and died a few months after his appointment. General Dávila had distinguished himself in the Bilbao and Santander campaigns of the Civil War when he was created Minister of National Defence. Don Andrés Amado, a lawyer in his early fifties, became Finance Minister; Don Juan Antonio Suances, a naval and military engineer, received the portfolio of Industry and Commerce; Don Antonio Peña Boeuf, constructor of

the Tardienta Aqueduct, the largest in Europe, appropriately became Minister of Public Works; and Don Pedro González Bueno, a labour expert and follower of Calvo Sotelo, was appointed Minister of Syndical Action.

Until August, 1939 this strong combination of Phalangists and Traditionalists held together without much difficulty: the greater part of this time was occupied with the winning of the War and political activities were reduced to a minimum. Unification of feeling in the true sense of the word, however, can hardly be said to have been achieved: most of General Franco's supporters, both in town and in country, leaned very definitely either to the radical programme of the Phalangists, with its insistence on strict control of Church by State, agrarian reform and a movement towards the equalization of classes, or to the conservatism of the *Requetés*, which would welcome the re-establishment of the Church and a restoration of the Monarchy. During the War, though open dissension between the two groups on any large scale was extremely rare, there was much general distrust of the one group by the other; and when at the end of March, 1939 hostilities ceased, this began to take political expression. The resignation, in April, of the Minister of Education, referred to above, and the resignation, or dismissal, from his post of General Queipo de Llano, in July, may be taken as straws indicating the direction of a wind which began to blow full blast in August.

At the beginning of that month there was published a decree reorganizing the F.E.T., which amounted to little less than a victory for Phalangists over Traditionalists. If it was to be impossible to keep the two steeds in double harness, no other solution to the problem was conceivable, for the Phalangists have youth and vigour on their side and in the forefront of their programme are reforms for which the country is waiting, whereas the Traditionalists are sponsoring ideals, possibly desirable in themselves, but certainly not immediately realizable.

The reconstitution of the F.E.T. is perhaps less significant than the changes in the personnel of the Govern-

ment which were announced a few days after the publication of the decree, and its main features may be summarized quite briefly. The strength of the National Council was increased to the limits of from fifty to seventy-five members, the *Caudillo* to remain its President and the President of the *Junta Política* to be Vice-President and Acting Chairman. Twelve of the seats were to be filled by persons selected for their high rank in the State, and others were to go to persons representing different aspects of public life.

The *Junta Política*, which is now in reality the executive council of the *Falange*, was reconstructed by the same decree. Its members, twelve in all, will be members of the National Council, and the system of appointment will resemble that adopted by Primo de Rivera for his National Assembly: the President, Vice-President and five other members will be chosen by General Franco and the remaining five will be elected by the National Council on General Franco's nomination.

From these dispositions one fact emerges very clearly—namely, that the President of the *Junta Política* is likely to be the second most powerful man in the country. A third key position will be that of "Party Secretary" (i.e. Secretary-General of the *Falange*), for the person who fills this post will have a seat, *ex officio*, in the Cabinet, and the decree defines his duties in terms which leave no room for doubt that he will be permanently in the inner councils of the *Caudillo*.

Short of a purely military dictatorship, no measure could more effectively have incorporated the Army in the Government of the nation and simplified the composition of the Government itself. So much was clear from the outset. Until the appointment had been made of the two unknown members of the triumvirate, however, it was not clear how far the Traditionalists were in fact to be eliminated from power. If the Party Secretary were a Phalangist and the President of the *Junta Política* were a Traditionalist, the balance might yet be preserved. The announcement of the composition of the new Government, on 10 August, showed at once that this idea had been abandoned.

That Señor Serrano Súñer would be given the Presidency of the *Junta Política* together with the Ministry for Home Affairs was generally, and, as it proved, correctly anticipated. General Jordana, however, the other leading figure of the last Cabinet, disappeared from the picture, together with Count Rodezno, General Dávila, Don Andrés Amado, Don Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, Don Pedro González Bueno and Don Juan Antonio Suances. This practically clears the new Cabinet, which is increased in size to fifteen members, of professed Traditionalists: Señor Bilbao Eguía, the Minister of Justice, is probably the only member of it who could be described under that head.

The Party Secretaryship has gone to an Army officer, General Muñoz Grande, of whose political capabilities little is known at present. The fact, however, that this important post should have been given to the Army is itself highly significant and the new Secretary's career will be watched with interest.

Better known is the nominee to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Beigbeder Atienza. Fifty-one years of age, Colonel Beigbeder is one of the few men of long and varied experience in the new Cabinet. For the most part, his public life has been associated with Morocco. Here, as a young man, he first saw active service. Here he returned on the outbreak of hostilities in 1936. And here, during almost the whole of the Civil War, he served as Spanish High Commissioner. His wide and profound knowledge of the Arabs, gained both by study in Eastern Universities and by having lived in native homes, has earned for him the sobriquet of "El Africano". But he has also gained valuable experience of European problems through having served as military attaché in foreign Embassies.

Few of the other names in the new Cabinet list will be better known than Colonel Beigbeder's to the average student of Spanish politics, always excepting those of the Generals, who (if General Franco is included) take four of the fifteen places. The War Ministry is to be under General Varela, the liberator of Toledo and Teruel, whose name, in the autumn of 1936 and the spring of 1938, was

in the forefront of all the War news. General Yagüe (and not General Kindelán, as was commonly expected) takes command of the Air Ministry. The Admiralty goes to Admiral Moreno, who during the War commanded the *Almirante Cervera*, the *Gerona* and the *Canarias*.

Of the remaining members of the new Government all but Señor Peña Boeuf, who continues at the Ministry of Public Works, are new to their work and the majority are well under fifty. The *Falange* has further direct representation in Don Pedro Gamero del Castillo, its Assistant Secretary, who, like his immediate chief, goes to the Cabinet without portfolio. The third Minister for whom no department has been found is another councillor and administrative official of F.E.T., Don Rafael Sánchez Mazas. This young man (he is just thirty-nine) is well known as an intellectual and a writer of distinction. During almost the entire period of the War he was imprisoned or working in a labour camp, and only a few days before the capture of Barcelona by General Franco, narrowly escaped execution. The fact that one-fifth of the new Government consists of Falangist officials without portfolios indicates even more suggestively than the eclipse of the Traditionalists and the changes made in the constitution of F.E.T. whither events are tending.

An excellent example of the type of unproved young man of promise on whom General Franco appears to be pinning high hopes is Don José Ibáñez Martín, the newly appointed Minister of National Education. Señor Ibáñez began his career, less than twenty years ago, as a secondary schoolmaster at Murcia, where he entered politics during the Primo de Rivera *régime* as president of the Diputación of Murcia. As a consequence of this, he was transferred to a well-known school in Madrid, where he sat in the National Assembly and collaborated with Ramiro de Maeztu and others in the foundation of *Acción Española*. Implicated in the Sanjurjo rising of 1932, he was imprisoned for some months, but returned to public life as a deputy in the 1933 Cortes. Apart from his membership of a Republican Committee on education he appears to have had little experience of

educational administration. During the War, after taking part in a cultural mission to Spanish America, he worked in the Nationalist Government's Press Department, and it was only as recently as last September that his educational experience was given scope by his appointment as a member of a Government Committee on the reform of secondary education.

Somewhat similar to this is the career of Don José Larraz López, created Finance Minister at thirty-five—in the present circumstances one would have thought this appointment a little dangerously experimental. He is an economist whose studies have been largely pursued in Belgium, and it was through Belgian influence that he was enabled to escape, during the latter part of the War, from Republican territory. Don Luis Alarcón de la Lastra, who takes the portfolio of Industry and Commerce, is an ex-army-officer, retired for political reasons during the Republic, whose prowess in the War was recompensed with the Civil Governorship of the Province of Madrid. The Department of Syndical Action is apparently to be discontinued, as Don Joaquín Benjumea Burín, a mining engineer whose recent work has been concerned with the devastated regions, is given the portfolio of Agriculture together with temporary charge of that of Labour.

These lines are being written in Spain, where talk is rather of the ascendancy achieved by the *Falange* than of the personalities of the new Ministers. The general impression made by the change is distinctly favourable, though the present is not a time in Spain when malcontents become vocal. The feeling, none the less, seems to be that the country at present needs, not only an able and determined leader, but a well-defined policy which will see the country embarked on schemes of social reform long overdue. The Phalangists have such a programme and they have youth and idealism on their side: the fear felt for them is that they may err by being over-radical. Traditionalism, on the other hand (the word being taken in its technical sense, for Phalangist ideology has much that derives from tradition), is felt to

be looking too much to the past and not enough to the present and future. The majority of Spaniards, then, and especially of the younger Spaniards who have fought in the war, are well content that the *Falange* should have a trial.

This is not a time for detailed criticism of Spanish policy. Spain is finding her feet again, and that but slowly. She is exhausted by the struggle so recently ended. She has to face vital problems of financial and social reconstruction at a time of severe international tension when a single false step might well land her in new disaster. She must solve these problems quickly—a difficult enough task even in an atmosphere of general good will: yet the prevailing atmosphere is one of reaction—inevitably so after a long and internecine struggle carried on by either side in defence of ideals. As one discusses with Spaniards questions which in other circumstances might have been comparatively simple, one is appalled by the magnitude of the labour of reconstruction which awaits the country: it would be difficult, indeed, to look forward to the future with any confidence did not history teach us that among the many remarkable qualities of the Spanish nation not the least is its amazing vitality.

E. ALLISON PEERS.

A EUROPE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

THE HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

I

IT is evident that Europe is divided against itself, and "a house divided against itself cannot stand". It must either recover its unity or perish. The purpose of this article is to examine the implications of these truths, with particular reference to the prospects of the efforts for peace attributed to the new Pope.

As usual, however, it is necessary first to define terms. We must be clear as to the meaning to be attributed to the term Europe today, and also as to the nature of the cleavage that now imperils Europe. Is Europe primarily a community or primarily a continent? And is its present duality rooted principally in a spiritual dichotomy, or principally in the more immediately dangerous but less enduring combinations of power politics? An historical approach to these questions seems the most appropriate, though it must necessarily cover familiar ground.

Considered as a continent, Europe has never had the inevitability of, say, Africa or the two Americas. The Greeks, who first used its name as a geographical term, were clear enough that it was separated from Asia by water but were altogether vague about its limits northward and north-westward. The geographers of our own generation, who know all about its northern and western coast-line, have no certain rule for marking it off from Asia, of which they regard it as a peninsula. The line of the Urals is only one of the arbitrary land frontiers that have been suggested; and it is an easy device of controversy to speak of Russia as Asiatic. Indeed, though that taunt may simplify too much, since it neglects the work of Byzantium, to say nothing of the Northmen, it does substantial justice when it refuses to acknowledge Russia as more than superficially European. For Europe, in the only fully significant sense of the term, is not an invention of geographers but the creation of a society,

to wit, of Catholic Christendom. There should be no need in these days to labour this truth.

Earlier ingredients, of course, went to its making. The Greeks took a pride in being different from Asiatics, not because they lived to the west of the Aegean Sea and the Asiatics to the east, but because they believed themselves to be naturally free men and the Asiatics to be naturally slaves, submitting with servility to despots. (There is a curious analogy here with the attitude of most citizens of the parliamentary States today towards the supposedly servile subjects of the dictators.) Again, the Roman Empire, in laying the juridical foundations of Europe, introduced a conception that has given a sinister twist to the whole course of European history, the conception of the State as spiritually self-sufficient and of moral values as something derived from its authority and to be imposed as part of the political order. Outside the Roman world there might be civilizations and Empires, such as the Persian, with moral values of their own. But what gave moral value in Roman eyes to the Roman world were virtues regarded as peculiarly Roman and a justice and a peace of Roman origin, to be enforced up to the Roman frontiers and not to be looked for beyond them.

This conception persisted after the Empire had become officially Catholic, towards the end of the fourth century. By that time the City of Rome had ceased to be the centre of the Roman world ; the principal, and before long the only, capital of the Roman Empire was Constantinople. There the Roman tradition of the rôle of the State was so strong that Catholicism itself was in danger of being subordinated to it. It seemed obvious to the Byzantine Emperors that Catholicism, since it was the religion of the Empire, was something to be imposed, as part of the system, just as far as the system itself extended.

But if the boundaries of the Catholic Church are to coincide with the boundaries of any State there is only one Catholic way of bringing it about. Instead of adjusting the Church forcibly to the limits of the State, the State must be adjusted to the limits of the Church. For the Church is by its nature a free association of

persons bound together by supernatural ties, and cannot, without sacrilege, be forced to coincide with a political community of non-Catholic origin. On the other hand, it is perfectly possible to build a free State on the foundation of a Catholic community.

This alternative conception of the relation of Church and State was developed in the West after the West had ceased to be controlled from Constantinople; and with its development, and its embodiment in an actual political community, practically co-extensive with the Church in the West, the history of Europe begins.

The old Rome, now a See rather than a City, sent out Catholic missionaries to lands that had never known her political rule and to barbarians who had wiped it out, and wherever she made converts to the Roman Church she implanted the idea of citizenship of the Roman Empire. And this idea, which the impotence and the schisms of Byzantium had made a pious fiction, was brought back into the world of political realities when in the year 800 the Pope of the day crowned the most powerful monarch of the western world as "Emperor of the Romans". At the same time, the new relationship of the State to the Church was marked by the description of the new State as the Holy Roman Empire.

It is true that Charlemagne himself was personally inclined to the Byzantine version of that relationship and had tried to put it into practice in his campaigns against the heathen Saxons. Many of his successors, moreover, cherished similar ideas. But it was the Catholic version of the relationship that shaped Europe during the next five hundred years. One community after another, on becoming Catholic, took its place as a kingdom or principality of Christendom by tacit understanding or by the fiat of the Pope. Emperor after Emperor, from the penance at Canossa onwards, had to acknowledge that, except as a Catholic in communion with the Pope, he had no authority to rule.

The geographical determination of Europe that emerged from this period has never really been obliterated. The old Roman world had been a coast rather than a continent, the coast surrounding an inland

sea. The greater part of that coast was lost to Christendom through the conquests of the Moslems or the schisms of the Greeks. But the frontiers of the pagan Empire had been carried northward to the Danube and the Rhine and the lowlands of Scotland, and all its western territories between the Mediterranean and these northern boundaries had been handed on to form the nucleus of the new political entity. Some of them sank for a time under heathen or Moslem hordes but they were recovered, and new territories were added to them as they were won from heathendom—the rest of the British Isles, Scandinavia, inner Germany, Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland, and finally Prussia.

But the shrunken Byzantine Empire stood obstinately aloof in almost continuous schism, as did the principalities born in schism in the Balkans and in Russia. The so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople, established in 1204 by Crusaders diverted from their purpose, did nothing permanently to heal the breach during the fifty-seven years of its existence, and the conquering Turk completed the severance from the West. To this day the States of the remote Americas, sprung from the Europe that took its shape from mediaeval Christendom, are more essentially European than almost any Balkan State or either Tsarist or Bolshevik Russia; for none of them has been able to get completely out of its system its innate knowledge that morals and the things of the spirit are not something to be shaped by the State but must, on the contrary, play their part in the shaping of it. (This truth, it is to be observed, is a double one: devout folk in Slav or Asiatic lands have individually clung to the first and negative part of it, but at the cost of renouncing the second.)

II

During its formative period the Europe so defined was never divided in such a way as to destroy its essential unity. It was divided often enough by the recurrent contests between the Empire and the Papacy, for the lay rulers could never for long endure the political implica-

tions of the primacy of the spiritual in the European order. But though the Emperors and their partisans could resent and resist the political claims of ecclesiastics, they could not deny the ultimate supremacy of the Papacy in the political ordering of Christendom without repudiating the origin of the Holy Roman Empire itself and resorting to theories of the imperial authority that were flagrantly at variance with the common conscience of their subjects, as well as with the accepted teachings of the Schools.

These contests did, nevertheless, strain the unity of Christendom to a degree that prepared the way for other forces to break it. The decisive change came at the end of the thirteenth century, when the mediaeval Empire had gone down in defeat, and largely because it had gone down in defeat. The challenge of the Emperors to the primacy of the spiritual power was taken up by the kings, whom the Empire should have held in check. The Byzantine version of the relations of Church and State, which the western Emperors had failed to make effective for Christendom as a whole, was expounded afresh by the jurists of the western States that were now becoming nations. Henceforward each king sought opportunities to make it effective within his own kingdom.

Their first efforts were directed towards capturing the Papacy itself. The king of France won the first success when he brought about the residence of the Popes for seventy years on the edge of his dominions. As the immediate sequel and consequence of this, there followed the Great Schism of the West, which began as soon as the Popes tried to be Roman again. For a series of anti-Popes were set up who could always get backing so long as the notion persisted that the Papacy could be nationalized. But so long as all were agreed that there should be a Pope and that there could only be one Pope, even forty years of disputing over the rightful occupant of the Papacy could not sectionalize the institution. And so long as the institution was acknowledged, European unity could not be wholly destroyed. Nor did any lay ruler on his own initiative dare, at first, to deny the Papacy itself.

Religious innovators had to make the way here. Their theological heresies provided pretexts for rulers who had political or personal reasons for wishing to break with the Papacy. Popular backing for a breach could be provided, when necessary, by appealing to the new sense of national identity and, in some cases, to a new cultural self-consciousness. For the classical Renaissance in Italy had made Italians conscious of their cultural heritage as Italians, and had indirectly brought to the surface the ancient but hitherto inarticulate diversities of culture amongst the diversified peoples of the north, who had been brought into the one fold of the Church in the ages of faith.

Relying on these forces some of the princes of the Empire (for nearly two hundred years past a wholly German institution) led the way in asserting the rights of the ruler to determine the religion of his subjects. In 1526, within six years of Luther's burning of the Papal Bull, the phrase *cujus regio ejus religio* found acceptance at Spires and the religious principle of Byzantine imperialism was crystallized in a formula adapted to the age of the nations. When, eight years later, Henry VIII gave effect to it on a national scale, the long preserved unity was at last really destroyed.

Then Christendom was not only broken, it was shattered into fragments. It is true that the wars of religion which rent Europe until the middle of the next century had something of the character of a duel, with the tradition of Christendom at stake on one side and a free hand for the innovators as the prize on the other. But neither set of combatants fought as a unit.

It is true that each had its "international", Calvinism for the new order, the Jesuits and the Papacy itself for the old. But the greatest material forces on either side were States that fought each for its own ends. Lutheranism gave countenance to this sectionalism on the Protestant side, Gallicanism and regalism on the Catholic. The Spanish monarchy, which was the first to assume the rôle of champion of the Church, was foremost in claiming its "rights" against the Papacy. And Cardinal Richelieu directed the foreign policy of Catholic

France principally to ensuring that the Catholic Emperor should not reunite Germany under his control.

Consequently, the Europe that emerged from the wars of religion was little more than a group of States with a spiritual past in common and an immediate interest in maintaining among themselves a mechanical equilibrium. All the great European wars between 1648 and 1792 were concerned with the balance of power, for the sake of which Louis XIV even laboured to set the Turks upon the Hapsburgs.

With this as the guiding principle of European diplomacy it could matter little for the purposes of the European order whether the governments were nominally Catholic or nominally Protestant, nor was it felt as an extraordinary thing that in 1701 Protestant Prussia should be raised to the rank of a kingdom within what was still nominally the Holy Roman Empire. Indeed, the event could hardly shock a Europe which had just seen Moslem Turkey brought into the European diplomatic system by the Treaty of Carlowitz only sixteen years after John Sobieski had thrown back its army from Vienna, and was admiring the first steps taken by Peter the Great to convert a savage and schismatic Russia into a Western though still schismatic power. Certainly the coincidence of these three events marked the distance that Europe had travelled since Christendom had organized and armed itself to combat heresy, infidelity and schism.

III

Nevertheless there was still a Europe ; in fact, in the new sense of the term, there was at last a Europe. For a new conception of Europe was being formulated. Men were becoming conscious of themselves as Europeans in virtue of a common secular culture.

In the early days of Christendom, when Saxons, Slavs, Scandinavians, Magyars and Prussians, each with its strongly marked popular traditions, had been brought in succession within its boundaries, its unity had not been destroyed, because the faith came first and transcended

cultural divergencies. In the sixteenth century, when the faith of Christendom was challenged, these cultural divergencies were no longer transcended and aided the spiritual break-up. In the secular atmosphere of the eighteenth century they were not, indeed, transcended but they were overlaid and to some extent diminished by a veneer of cosmopolitanism among the educated classes. These found compensation, for the loss of the unity of the faith, in the free circulation of fashions in dress and polite literature, of learned publications and of types of weapons and of philosophical, or what were called philosophical, ideas. It was in this sense that Rousseau wrote :

"Il n'y a plus aujourd'hui de Français, d'Allemands, d'Espagnols, d'Anglais même, quoi qu'on en dise ; il n'y a que des Européens." (*Gouvernement de Pologne*, c.3.)

It was inevitable under these circumstances that the dominant note of this culture should be rationalism, in the sense of the exaltation of human reason, not only over supernatural values, but also over those values which are rooted chiefly in tradition, custom and natural affinities. The natural man of the eighteenth century idealist was not a being who had lived, or could have lived, in any particular locality or period. He was a timeless abstraction, a universal idea ; and was credited with universal possibilities, both political and spiritual, on condition that he could be released from the fetters of actually existing institutions and religious beliefs.

It was the conscious aim of this rationalistic Liberalism to recreate Europe as a single community with all its members cut to a uniform pattern. But its actual effect was to create a new dualism. For the Catholic tradition still flowed on, though in a shrunken stream ; the true life of the spirit was still lived, though often lukewarmly ; and the institutions of the old religion, not less tenacious because often fossilized, were embedded in every political society in Europe. And even on the secular plane the common man was not readily persuaded to forego the ways of his native village for Utopias made in Paris.

The tension produced by this dualism came to a head in France, where the driving force of the new ideas was

at a maximum and the old institutions presented their most imposing façade. The outcome was the French Revolution. In that upheaval the new uniformitarianism was crystallized in the Masonic formula Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, and practical demonstration was given of the fact that these three ideals, when taken out of their Christian setting, are irreconcilable with one another.

In the wars which sprang from this Revolution Europe for the first time suffered a cleavage that was in the realm of ideas and yet not directly religious. The conflict, in fact, would now be called ideological; and, indeed, it lies at the root of the cleavage that now goes by that name.

The imperialism of Napoleon did not change the issue. Ultimately it clarified it by revealing the absolutist tendencies that had lain latent in the logic of the new secularist Liberalism as surely as in the corruption of the ancient Christian monarchies, since each had for its ultimate impulse the effort of civil society to escape from that spiritual control which is the only sure guarantee of human liberties within the State. In this respect the career of Napoleon as the apotheosis of the Revolution rendered much the same service to truth as is rendered today by the association of the Soviet dictatorship with the Liberal or Liberalized parties in the Popular Fronts. For by that association the ultimate aim of those parties is shown to be, not liberty, but secularism.

Nor could anyone be deceived when Napoleon assumed the rôle of Charlemagne and announced that his attempt to re-unify Europe was a revival of Charlemagne's Empire. It is true that Charlemagne, like Napoleon, had in the first instance raised the Frankish kingdom to imperial stature by the sword. But Charlemagne's imperial crown had been conferred upon him as a religious trust by the spiritual power, whereas Napoleon's most characteristic act was to seize the imperial crown from the Pope and crown himself with his own hands. And the Russian disaster interrupted him in the project of transferring the Papacy to Paris.

As a consequence of these developments of the Revolution the Catholic Church, which in France had

shown herself not unsympathetic to the first outburst of Liberal fervour, was forced to identify herself in a large measure with the anti-revolutionary side in a divided Europe. Her literary champions could legitimately represent her, not only as the martyr Church of the Terror, but as the true champion of the European tradition, with its varied wealth of historical and local associations, against the bleak uniformity of revolutionary logic. But the restorations that followed the overthrow of Napoleon were by no means altogether favourable to her. Not only was she plausibly represented by her enemies as profiting by mere political reaction. The returning monarchs were all imbued with the regal tradition, and the France of the restored Bourbons would not abrogate the Organic Articles of Napoleon. Nor had any of the statesmen who engineered the Holy Alliance the least shadow of sympathy with the quasi-theocratic programme of de Maistre.

In other words, the division of Europe continued to be on "ideological" rather than on directly religious lines, as much after the Restoration as it had been before it, with neither of the contending parties caring anything for the primacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, except to oppose it. This time, however, the Revolution was being trampled under foot, and its dream of a Europe united by its principles had been shattered; and this brought about a modification of another type in the ideas of its partisans. They had to seek out new modes of activity, and found them in revolutionary nationalism. The Revolution took over for a while the rôle of champion of those local traditions of Europe which, in the person of Napoleon, it had outraged and, in outraging, had awakened to political consciousness.

Protestantism and the counter-Reformation had familiarized Europe with the idea of a people fighting for freedom to practise its own religion. The Revolution had sent out into every corner of the continent the more generalized notion of a people struggling to be free from tyrants. All over Europe there were regions where a common local culture, or a common language, or a belief in a common descent peculiar to themselves, had given

the population a sense of separate identity. Down to the period of the Revolution, unless a common religion different from the religion of its neighbours' had been added to its distinguishing marks, such a population had ordinarily been content to cherish its sense of separateness without regard to the political rule under which it fell; for governments in those days, except in the matter of religion, were not offended by diversities of local culture and had no machinery for enforcing cultural uniformity if they would. The new type of centralized administration set up in France and elsewhere by the revolutionary governments, and perpetuated by their successors, had largely ended that immunity; and first one of these populations and then another was seized with the idea that it was, or ought to be, an independent political unit.

Thenceforward revolutionary nationalism was a disruptive force in Europe wherever governments ruled over a diversity of peoples. And when some of these peoples had realized their ambitions, and become sovereign States themselves, this same nationalism, shedding nothing of its intransigence, proved equally disruptive to the European State-system as a whole. For there was still Irredentism, to provide an occasion for aggression, and also nationalism in its extended and racialist form—pan-Germanism, pan-Slavism, and the like.

So it came about that the ideological dualism which the Revolution had created within Europe became confused, without giving place to unity. Sheer power politics returned, as they had done after the Peace of Westphalia, but aggravated now by competition for markets and materials in the economic world-order which the dynamic materialism of the nineteenth century had brought into being. Before long a Europe weltering in philosophic anarchy and insatiable ambitions, commercial and political, plunged into the Great War in which, at the outset at least, no philosophically or politically consistent line of demarcation separated the two groups. It was not until the third year of the war that something like a consistent line of political cleavage appeared among the Great Powers engaged in it. Then the collapse of Tsarist

Russia and its replacement by the United States of America on the side of the Entente, gave some plausibility to the claim that the democracies were fighting the autocratic Empires. And in the fourth year there took place the Bolshevik revolution, which was to bring to the surface again the fundamental division of spirit that secularism had created within the European order.

These three lines of cleavage, between the combinations of power politics, between liberal democracies and autocracies, and between the atheistic and the Christian States, are all *either in fact or in accepted, and therefore fact-making, fiction* at work in the disruption and tension that tortures Europe today. It is the contention of this article that the cleavage which is the most deeply rooted in the past of the continent will eventually prevail over the others, and that it is impossible to disentangle the present situation either analytically or diplomatically unless account is taken of this fact.

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EDUCATION IN THE MODERN CRISIS

REFLECTIONS ON THE SPENS REPORT

THERE are, broadly speaking, two possible methods of approach to an evaluation of the Spens Report on secondary education.* One is to consider it from a viewpoint which is on the whole common to the Committee which produced it, and to the mass of legislators, educationists and parents who will be concerned with criticizing its recommendations and putting them into practice. This outlook embodies conceptions of the value of modern civilization, of trade and commerce, of scientific advance, of democracy and progress in their contemporary realization which, while vague and often self-contradictory, are widely held by Englishmen today. Viewed from within this magic circle the Report is highly valuable and intelligent, and has received its due measure of praise in the press and elsewhere. That being the case, I think it may be profitable to consider it here from a more external standpoint, and make some attempt to relate it to its wider social and cultural context. This will necessitate some consideration of the sociological changes of the last two hundred years, and of the present impasse.

We seldom realize the strict abnormality of an educational system such as we possess today. Since the early eighteenth century there has been in this country a steady and cumulative increase in the formal instruction given by schools, and a concomitant and equally large breakdown of all the other (and generally speaking far more important) traditional educational forces. The school in the past played only a subsidiary part in the education of the nation as a whole; its original function, and that of the Universities, was to provide an intellectual training for those whose abilities and vocation appeared to mark them out for an intellectual career, whether as scholar, priest or other member of a small clerical class. Book-

* Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools. H.M. Stationery Office, 3s. 6d.

learning and literary studies were confined to these, and, at some periods, to those whose birth into an educated aristocracy demanded them. The masses of the people were educated less formally, but for their purposes no less efficaciously, by other educational forces—the family, the liturgy, the system of apprenticeship, and, in general, by a process of embodiment into an ordered and organic local society possessing very definite conceptions of man's place in the scheme of things, and a popular culture which frequently reached a high level. The emotional refinement to which these people attained is evidenced by scores of songs which are now only sung in dinner-jackets, their exquisitely sensitive adjustment to their environment by their cottages, crafts, tools and implements, which have now almost disappeared, or are used as stimulants to rustic sentiment by the well-to-do. The training their work gave them was far more than "technical" in our modern sense—it was also moral and aesthetic, and by reason of its nature as traditional experience embodied values of the highest social importance. Even in the nineteenth century the remains of that tradition were still to be found. George Bourne has described it for us in *The Wheelwright's Shop*:

Truly it was a liberal education to work under Cook's guidance. I could never get axe or plane sharp enough to satisfy him; but I never doubted, then or since, that his tiresome fastidiousness over tools and handiwork sprung from a knowledge as valid as any artist's. He knew, not by theory, but more delicately in his eyes and fingers. Yet there were others about his match—men who could make the wheels, and saw out on the saw-pit the other timbers for a dung-cart and build the cart and paint it—preparing the paint first; or, if need be, help the blacksmith in tiring the wheels. . . . In them was stored all the local lore of what good wheelwrights' work should be like. The century-old tradition was still vigorous in them. They knew each customer and his needs; understood his carters and his horses and the nature of his land; and finally took a pride in supplying exactly what was wanted in every case. So unawares, they lived as part of the rural community of the English.

In the last two centuries, under the ruthless advance of industrial capitalism, the old order of "the rural

community of the English" has been steadily obliterated, so that now hardly a trace of it remains. The English countryside, except where scarred by "development", has been depopulated, and turned into a potential heath; the towns, its organic counterparts, into industrial camps. Since the September crisis, at any rate, we are all aware of the "decay of agriculture", but it is scarcely realized that in the change which has come over the English people more is involved than a few farmers unable to sell their barley, or even the food of the nation in time of war. An unprecedented revolution in human living has occurred, but of this most people are aware of only one aspect—the material and technological advantages which it has brought. Of the other facet of this change, the utter dislocation of traditional modes of living, and the breakdown of human values, they are unaware, largely because they have lost touch with the older England, and have no criteria of judgement.

While this destruction was taking place, while irreplaceable social assets were being thrown away, popular education increased rapidly. There were various reasons for this—the growth of middle-class idealism and philanthropy; the need to discipline the masses of the rapidly growing towns; the increasing demands of industry and commerce for those who were literate and could cast accounts; and, in the nineteenth century, the growth of democratic ideals and working-class movements. The strange thing was, that while the traditions of centuries were being smashed, the pathetic substitute of a little book-learning for the poor was hailed everywhere as a sign of progress and enlightenment.

Today, underneath the concrete and chromium plate, we are beginning to realize what we have lost. Uncontrolled industrial and commercial enterprise have brought us to a cultural and sociological crisis of the severest magnitude. The organic nature of society, in those countries where the process has gone furthest, has been almost completely destroyed. The village and town community went long ago, for most men; today even the family is rapidly disappearing as a social unit, and in the place of men like Bourne's wheelwright, men of fine

human type in sensitive adjustment to their environment and to one another, we have the rootless and amorphous masses of the industrial towns. They have been "educated"; that is, they have been taught to read and write, and given an assortment of more or less unrelated facts to digest, but their education has proved a pitifully inadequate equipment for dealing with the environment in which they have found themselves. Their work, so far from providing a satisfactory way of life, usually tends to frustrate any attempt to achieve one, the machine having in most cases emptied it of all intellectual, emotional or physical satisfaction. Surrounded by the indescribable ugliness of the modern town, cut off from any but the most superficial contact with the natural rhythms, finding no normal emotional satisfaction in their lives, they naturally fall easy victims to the cheapest emotional responses; those of the cinema, the press, the advertisement, or the popular novel. This cultural degradation is almost universal, throughout all levels of society. The same narcotics are dispensed in the expensive hotel as in the local Palais de Danse; the same films in the West End as in the suburbs; there is no clear line of demarcation, both offer escape, the chief differences being those of cost and degree of subtlety. The book pages of the Sunday papers reveal a lack of standards on the part of "critics" which is even more dangerous than that of the average reader, since they are presumably the people who should be maintaining standards and values. Amongst this chaos the teacher who realizes the gravity of the situation must do his best to provide his pupils with some defence against the forces which menace them; the tragedy is that the majority of educators are themselves unaware of it, and so can do nothing. The few who are, are handicapped by the dead weight of the educational system as a whole, by the tyranny of examinations, by the unawareness of their colleagues and of parents, by the host of influences outside the school which speedily negative what little they can do. The Committee which produced the Spens Report, while making many valuable recommendations which should do much to make possible a secondary education adequate for today,

shows little sign of appreciating the real gravity of the issues involved.

They have come to the conclusion "that the existing arrangements for the whole-time education of boys and girls above the age of 11 + in England and Wales have ceased to correspond with the actual structure of modern society, and with the economic facts of the situation". With this statement few are likely to quarrel; the question which arises concerns the extent to which the "actual structure of modern society" is desirable, and how far education today should seek rather to change that structure than to perpetuate it by "corresponding" to it. It is clear that the Spens Committee, while aware of many of the defects of our present system of education, does not contemplate any radical changes in the existing order of society, other than those which the advance of science, and a gradual process towards a classless society, may bring. The Committee points out that the English grammar schools existed originally to give those boys who intended to follow the learned professions an education preparatory to the University. Hence the academic nature of their courses even today, despite the fact that the majority of grammar school pupils now enter industry or commerce, only a minority of 15 per cent proceeding to the Universities. The function of these schools* has changed; their purpose is no longer to train a scholarly or educated class, but to give an education suitable for future business men. It seems likely, in fact, that the percentage of pupils from these schools entering commerce is likely to increase. One of the most important of the Committee's suggestions is that Technical High Schools† should be established in connexion with the building and engineering industries to provide training for those boys whose interests are predominantly technical and scientific. With the removal of some scholars to these schools, and,

* The Report uses the term "grammar school" to describe the normal secondary school, as distinct from the technical or public school.

† I have not space here to deal fully with these schools; doubtless many boys will find them more congenial than the normal grammar school, but a general training of the type referred to later in this article seems as necessary for them as for grammar school pupils.

by an improved method of selection, the diverting to senior or "modern" schools of many of those who now enter grammar schools without possessing sufficient academic ability, it is clear that the proportion of scholars who enter commerce will easily be predominant. They will for the most part become clerks or typists.

There may be some who think that a healthy young woman can find fulfilment in sitting for eight hours a day tapping keys, or that a healthy young man should devote his life to double-entry book-keeping; here is what Mr. Bernard Kelly has written in an account of an enquiry into the conditions of bank-clerking :

"What is observable in the work, and increasingly in the principles by which the work is being rationalized, is a stripping to bare mathematics, *a mechanization of the mind*, far more significant than the use of machinery, which eliminates those conditions in which a man may become rooted in his job and give to it those personal values which, however slight in importance, were irreplaceable . . . the bank-clerk (by his fifth to tenth year) has not normally any doubt that the guiding principle of the bank's policy is one of naked self-interest . . . *He is aware, too, of the nullity of his own personal significance in the system. His humanity is irrelevant to his work and powerless to change it.*"*

And Mr. D. A. Young, in an account of a similar enquiry into general clerking :

"By vocation few men are called to be clerks and the result of many entering this occupation is that their psychological make-up becomes twisted. The general sense of frustration breaks in from time to time upon the consciousness. So long as one is aware of anything at all it is of a feeling of helplessness, of being slowly divested of one's personality. The work is completely sterile and cut off from nature and all natural rythm. Every particle of sensuousness becomes canalized into a devitalized and cerebral substitute for sexuality. . . . Gradually the will-power gets weaker and it becomes more and more difficult to break from habits, or strike out in new directions. Although generally clerking is a safe job, clerks are often unduly apprehensive about the future."†

* *Integration*, Oct. 1938. My italics.

† *Integration*, Dec. 1938.

"The nullity of his own personal significance" . . . "a feeling of helplessness, of being slowly divested of one's personality" . . . "gradually the will-power gets weaker." What is one to say in the face of such terrible testimony? How is one to educate for that?

The Spens Committee accepts without question a civilization in which it is necessary for hundreds of thousands of men to spend their lives in such work. It can therefore speak easily of "general" and "vocational" education, and propose a combination of the two for the benefit of those who are to leave school at 16. It is clear, however, that for anyone aware of the problem, conscious of the cultural crisis which I have indicated above, any attempt at education must promote an awareness of the issues at stake, must provide its pupils with an equipment for judging the modern world, and for making a rational choice as to the part they are to play in it. It will be of small avail for the schools to provide for their pupils a satisfaction of their "adolescent needs and interests" if it makes no attempt to provide them with weapons with which to resist the world they are entering; to steer them, as far as possible, into occupations in which their humanity will have some chance of surviving, and in general to turn out pupils who are critical of what passes for modern civilization, and determined to change it.

As to the form such education might take, much has been done by Dr. Leavis and his colleagues of *Scrutiny* to work out a training based primarily on English which should provide an emotional and intellectual discipline to counteract the influence of the modern environment and provide continuity with the past.* English studies can provide essential training in the ability to distinguish between valid and spurious emotion, clear and muddled thought, intellectual content and emotional or propagandist padding, and in the discriminating use of words. There are obvious opportunities for similar work in history

* It is typical of the neglect to which this work has been exposed that no mention of it is made in the Spens Report, and that among a long list of witnesses, including representatives of Messrs. Woolworth, and Marks and Spencer, no members of the educational movement associated with Dr. Leavis and *Scrutiny* were examined.

and geography, while science teachers might train their pupils in an attitude which considers the social consequences of scientific advance, and so counteract the naïve acceptance of modern marvels which is so common today.*

While we acknowledge with gratitude our debt to Dr. Leavis and *Scrutiny*, and the indispensable importance of the training they desiderate, as Catholics we must realise that a purely humanist education is insufficient. But we must realise, also, that too often in the past our religious training has been inadequate. Whilst we followed slavishly the demands of examination bodies, and boasted of our certificate results, the Faith frequently tended to become little more than "religious instruction" bearing small relation to the rest of the curriculum or to the lives of our pupils. I feel that there is need in most of our schools for far greater stress on practical training in the liturgy—the basis of all Christian education, for less abstract methods of instruction, and, above all, for the closest possible relation between liturgy and doctrine and the everyday lives of our pupils. We must see that their intellectual, emotional, and physical development is integrated and ordered by the faith; with older pupils, especially those proceeding to Universities, it is particularly important that their intellectual knowledge of their faith should be as fully developed as their secular knowledge. Too many undergraduates have, as far as their faith is concerned, a mental age of about 13, with the result that religion appears childish, and is either abandoned, or relegated to a mental department having scarcely any relation to their studies or to their lives as a whole.

The witnesses examined by the Committee, while including many sensitive and intelligent men and women, are for the most part necessarily acceptors of the existing state of affairs. Many of them, indeed, are representatives of industrial firms and employers. The most we can expect from the Report, then, is that an attempt shall

* The work outlined in this paragraph is intended primarily for secondary schools; but parallel work with less intellectual and academic approach, is obviously possible in elementary schools.

be made to work out a satisfactory scheme of education within the system as it stands. This has been done with courage and intelligence, and while we supply the inevitable inadequacies and defects, we must recognize that if the Committees' recommendations and suggestions are adopted,* much will have been done to make possible an education adequate for the needs of today. At present, as those engaged in teaching know, any attempt at such teaching is frustrated by the demands of examinations, and the curricula which they enforce. The value of these examinations and curricula, as at present constituted, has been questioned in the Report, with the result that in future teachers may expect to have a freer hand and (for those who will take it) far more chance of doing work on the lines indicated above.

The Committee rightly conclude that the traditional conception of a liberal education based on the classics is scarcely adequate for the needs of the average grammar school pupil of today, who will leave school at 16, and will not normally follow an academic career. The classics may still provide a valuable training for a small minority, but for the majority† a liberal education based on the study of their native language and literature is surely possible. Indeed, what passes now for a classical education is commonly only the husks of the old humanism, and consists largely of courses which are only valuable as foundations for further study. The curriculum has become so overloaded with useless matter that the ground actually covered in each subject is frequently negligible, with the result that having passed his School Certificate the average boy has often little more than a mass of abstract and largely unrelated knowledge, with little bearing on his own experience or the world he is entering. Moreover, the demands of the School Certificate Examination, the prestige of the older Public and Grammar Schools, and, in the opinion of the Com-

* A Prefatory Note to the Report states that the Board of Education has not yet reached a decision on the many issues raised by it.

† The majority, that is, of those capable of benefiting from a literary education at all. For the many pupils in elementary schools who clearly cannot so benefit, a training in handicrafts is obviously most satisfactory. Unfortunately, under modern conditions, the child who receives such a training at school has small chance of continuing it afterwards.

mittee, the Board of Education's Code of Secondary school regulations issued in 1902, have brought about a stereotyped uniformity in the schools which has left little room for innovation or experiment.

To remedy this state of affairs the Committee makes various suggestions. While not abandoning Latin (and in fact making several proposals which should make the teaching of it far more effective) it uncompromisingly states its belief that English studies are capable of providing that "core" to the curriculum formerly provided by the classics, and makes many valuable suggestions as to how the teaching of English may be improved. One recommendation in particular will be welcomed by all those who have ever had the misfortune to prepare others, or be prepared themselves, for the English literature paper in the School Certificate: "We believe that prescribed books do more to injure the budding growth of a sentiment for literature than to encourage it, and therefore recommend that books should no longer be prescribed in the School Certificate Examination."

Other reforms are proposed for the examination as a whole. The Committee recognizes what is generally known to be true, that instead of following the curriculum the Certificate has come to dominate it to such an extent that it is now commonly the be-all and end-all of the average secondary scholar's education; and that "the demands of this examination as at present constituted, the rigour of the preparation for it, and the importance attached to the School Certificate by employers and others, are such as cumulatively to cause overstrain and excessive anxiety to many pupils". This is attributed largely to the fact that the examination has been used at the same time for two distinct purposes: (*a*) to test the results of the education provided by the grammar schools, and (*b*) as a qualifying examination for entrance to the Universities. This has tended to upset the balance between academic and non-academic subjects, and resulted in a confusion of mind amongst parents and employers, who have regarded a mere certificate without matriculation as a comparative failure, and demanded the university qualification where in fact it was un-

necessary. The Report proposes that the two examinations should be separated; that the School Certificate should be the normal one, and that a separate examination for matriculation should be taken by those wishing to enter Universities. Greater freedom of choice between various subjects to be offered, and a reduction in the content of examination syllabuses, are also suggested. A pass in five subjects, one of which must be English and another either a foreign language or some scientific subject (including mathematics), is still required, however.

These reforms should do a great deal to make the examination compatible with serious education; how far they will be completely successful will be queried by some, since it seems probable that an examination of this sort, by which thousands of candidates are judged by one standard, and the motive behind entrance for which is the competitive one of desire for jobs, must of its nature tend to be anti-educational. In any case, the success of the proposed reforms must depend largely on a change of heart on the part of headmasters, parents and employers. While these continue to judge the worth of a school or an individual pupil chiefly in the terms of examination results, no reforms can be fully effective.

However, the first steps have been taken, and in other respects, too, the Committee's proposals are to be welcomed. Thus in all aspects of school life stress is laid on the nature of the individual child, and the importance of adjusting studies to him, not him to studies. The proposals for language teaching, which suggest that greater stress should be laid on ability to read the language studied, rather than to write it, and that pupils who show no signs of linguistic ability should be allowed to drop languages altogether, are sensible. The suggestions for a reassessment of pupils after their second year at a secondary school, and arrangements for the transfer of "misfits" to more suitable types of school; for arrangements whereby pupils in their third and fourth year may drop subjects in which they are least interested; for securing a more prominent place in the curriculum for music and the fine arts, whose function in awakening aesthetic sen-

sibility is considered "as important as the training of the intellect"; all these reforms should, if adopted, enable teachers to ensure that secondary education fulfils what appears to be its true function under modern conditions.

It must be remembered, however, that we are living at a period of crisis; and that what is necessary and valuable at such a period is not necessarily desirable permanently. The Spens Committee does not realize this, and so envisages the educational system which we possess today as a permanent thing. Hence its attempt, in itself admirable, to co-ordinate the various branches of secondary education, and complete in this Report the work it began, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Hadow, with its report on the "Education of the Adolescent", published in 1926. That report was concerned mainly with post-primary education as administered under the elementary school code; its proposals for the reorganization of this type of education are now being put into effect in the new senior schools. In the new report it is proposed that all post-primary education should be administered under one code, and that there should be complete equality of status between grammar schools, the new Technical High Schools, and Senior or "Modern" Schools. In order to emphasize this parity, the Committee stresses the fact that in future there must be no distinction in the quality of either buildings or teaching staffs for the different types of school, except in so far as it is demanded by legitimate differences of curriculum; and it looks forward to the time when the school-leaving age for all shall be 16, and there will be complete abolition of fees in all schools. As a first step towards this last proposal it urges that the "100 per cent special place system" shall be adopted in all schools. By these means it is hoped to break down the prejudice of parents in favour of schools of the grammar school type, and ensure that they shall choose the schools to which they send their children on educational grounds alone. It should be pointed out, however, that before anything approaching equality of opportunity can exist, radical social changes, outside the scope of the Board of Education, are necessary. While slums exist,

those who dwell in them are clearly at a disadvantage, however many "special places" are offered.

In the present state of society, when the stratification of classes is chiefly monetary, and bears little relation to function, we must obviously aim at "equality of opportunity" and a "classless" education. How far, in an organic and hierarchically ordered society these ideals are possible, or even desirable, of fulfilment is doubtful. It is becoming generally agreed that, if we are to survive, the restoration of a healthy English peasantry is essential, and it is clear that if the phrase "peasant stock" is again to have any meaning, the cultivation of the soil must again become a hereditary craft. The same may apply to other occupations, if out of the welter of mass-production we ever regain any well-defined and traditional crafts. Under such circumstances the "fullest individual development" and "equality of opportunity" will have to be disciplined in the interests of traditional values and of society as a whole. This is not likely to lead to any impoverishment of individual life; on the contrary, the individual cut off from those values is the poorer thereby.

Similarly, we may question the value of the school as a permanent substitute for the other traditional social and educational institutions. Great stress is laid in the Report on "the school as a society"; the schools, we are told, now "accept responsibilities formerly borne elsewhere", and are explicitly envisaged as more than places of formal instruction. While the Committee states that: "parents over and above their general rights as citizens, have a dominant interest in the education of their own children; education must always begin at home, and to the end of school life continues to be shared between home and school", it states also that "in a well-planned and well-ordered school of today, he (the pupil) finds open to him a life that satisfies most of his present needs, physical, intellectual, social and moral". That the school should exist, and be conscious of its existence, as a community is doubtless good; but it must not interfere with the claims of the prior communities of family and Church; the modern self-

sufficient school, even if considered necessary until the other communities have been restored to their natural functioning, is strictly abnormal, and should be regarded as such. Modern schooling, as the Report points out, is a whole-time affair, and while it insists that the social activities of the school should not occupy the whole of the child's free time, there can be no doubt that there is a strong tendency for it to supersede the influence of the home. Inevitably, too, the organization of all types of secondary school on a supra-parochial basis, tends to disrupt the unity of parish life, and so adds to the forces which in the modern industrial town already threaten its disintegration.

As was pointed out in the beginning of this article, the English in the past possessed a popular culture, based not on book learning, but on the everyday work of the people. The advent of the machine has destroyed it, and in its place what was originally the culture of an urban minority is popularized for the benefit of all; all are expected to appreciate music, poetry and art, which were formerly in the keeping of an intellectual few. There seems no good reason why this intellectualization of society should be considered desirable; indeed, it seems probable that culturally, as well as biologically, what Christopher Dawson has described as "the instinctive vitality of the peasant substratum" is necessary if health is to be preserved. It is true that both the Spens and the Hadow Reports have laid great stress on the non-academic aspects of education, and on the value of handicrafts and of manual training, but it can scarcely be claimed that this represents a real consciousness of the vital problems involved, or an adequate attempt to restore the popular culture and the way of life from which it sprung. The value of man's work in the past, whether as student, craftsman or peasant, lay in the life-long discipline which it gave to those who performed it, and in the human satisfaction which they gained from it. As the Report itself states in one place, "for the poet, the craftsman, the scientist, his poetry, his craft, his science is a way of life with ethical as well as intellectual or aesthetic characters".

What the Report ignores is the plain fact that the

majority of men today have no opportunity to be poets, scientists or craftsmen. It does not seem likely that casual training in handicrafts at school or, in the case of grammar school pupils, an introduction to the disciplines of the various branches of study, will provide an "integrity" which will long survive the mass-production belt or the office stool. Those who are engaged in such work know only too well that they leave it in such a state that only the most easily assimilated "recreations" are acceptable in off-time. Even the training suggested by Dr. Leavis cannot be accepted as a permanent solution ; it is chiefly valuable as a means of tiding us over the present crisis, and instilling an awareness of the lines which reform must take. Nor can we regard an urban proletariat, busy with handicrafts in its spare time, as an adequate substitute for a peasantry.

Education alone cannot save us, though it can help to create a consciousness of what has been lost, and a desire for change. The actual achievement of that change will require a co-ordination of effort beyond the power of educationists, and which we can hardly expect from our present rulers. This does not alter the fact that it is necessary, and if in this article I have seemed to some to deal with matters not immediately relevant to the Spens Report, my excuse is that in a long view they are of the very greatest relevance, and liable to be neglected elsewhere.

F. G. SEARLE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND IN THE SECOND SPRING

"TWO centuries of persecution made any interchange of ideas and practice almost impossible, and resulted in a separate Roman Catholic school system existing side by side with national systems, without contributing much to the general development of educational traditions."

This reflection, by Dr. Nicholas Hans, in the *Year Book of Education* for 1938 (London, Evans), is a challenge that no scholar can meet offhand, since hardly anything is known of the circumstances in which Catholic education was revived in England, and nothing whatever has been published on the education of the Catholic poor. No enlightenment is forthcoming from the standard historians of the years preceding Emancipation. On the subject of the schools, Canon Burton and Bishop Ward are for the most part concerned with the return of the English Colleges from abroad. And among non-Catholic historians the view of Lecky is the view still current: "During the greater part of the reigns of Anne, George I and George II, the Catholic worship in chapels and private houses was undisturbed, the estates of Catholics were regularly transmitted from father to son, and they had no serious difficulty in educating their children."*

It is fairly clear that this pronouncement can apply only to the upper-class Catholic families in eighteenth-century England. They alone could afford the expense of a schooling for their children at one of the English Colleges and schools abroad (of which, it is true, there were about fifty). But, in that case, what of the middle-class, and of the poor? Were they altogether neglected? Did they lapse? And if so, where did the movement begin that has resulted today in 1252 Catholic elementary schools, 300 convent schools, 38 Poor Law schools, 10 industrial schools, and 12 "special schools"?†

In the light of what is known of the general position

* W. E. H. Lecky, *England in the 18th Century* (1877), Library ed., i, 349.

† Board of Education *Report* 1937, and *Sower* 1938, pt. ii, p. 97.

of the Catholic population in eighteenth-century England few people today would expect to hear of much educational development before at least 1791, the year of the second alleviating Act. Legally, little had been left undone that might stamp out the Church of Rome entirely. Matters had by no means been left at the point of Elizabeth's final stroke of efficiency, whereby the penalty for priesthood had become death at sight, for schoolmastery life-imprisonment, and for illicit schooling abroad a crushing fine. The reign of Anne added to this a division of estates on the death of the owner, and a £40 reward for each priest apostatizing. That of George I added an assessment of £100,000 on all Papists over eighteen years of age, beyond the existing double land-tax. And if the Code stopped there, it was none the less abundantly true, as Chief Justice Mansfield pointed out uncomfortably to restive and hesitant juries as late as 1778, that "it is high treason for any man who is proved to be a priest to breathe in this Kingdom"—while he eased his discomfort by insisting upon solid proof of ordination and rejoicing that it could never be produced. Not, indeed, until within ten years of the end of the century did any relief come for Catholic schoolmasters; and even then the Catholic bishops were chary of what might follow. Challoner feared that a Penal Code so savage as to be seldom invoked might well be superseded by a schedule of restrictions all the more irksome for being less severe but regular. So did Walmesley and Berington. And to all three the Gordon Riots gave confirmation, while informed observers knew that the Government's main motive, behind the Relief Act of 1778, was to secure Highland volunteers for the American War.

Of the condition of the Papists within this setting we know more with every year that passes, through the publication of diaries and registers and scraps of correspondence; although these survivals are but a fraction of what might have been available to us, for in an age of inquisition few people harbour incriminating archives. The core of English Catholicism lay in the twenty or so great landed families, weakened by frequent apostasies. Here and here alone were the chapels of the country

districts. In London the eight Embassy chapels were all the facilities open during the first half of the century, and even by 1780 the only parish chapels were in Moorfields, Wapping and Bermondsey. There were hardly any devotional books: Challoner's *Garden of the Soul* did not appear till 1740, nor his Catechism till 1772. The first book published by a Catholic printer openly, appeared in 1735. The Catholic population itself was declining; in the south it fell from 27,000 in 1714 to 25,000 at the time of Challoner's first visitation in 1730, and was even lower at the time of his last survey in 1773. Catholics in England fell to 1 in 35 of the population until they comprised a "dwindling remnant" kept alive less by the bishops than by the families, living occasionally at ease but perpetually in enforced retirement from professional life, with a tiny middle-class of whom we get a glimpse in the list of fifty-eight tradesmen's houses destroyed in London during the Gordon Riots, and a swelling Irish proletariat in the dock areas in both south and north. Bishop Walmesley might be consulted by the Ministry on calendar reform, and George III might wink at an oratory in the grounds at Lulworth on his visit to the Welds; but the order of the day was proscription, tempered by the known desire of the Papists to be mercifully left to their oblivion.

In such a situation it seems futile to look for evidence of schools. Even the few that had arisen during the brief three years of James II had been banned after the 'Forty-five. In occasional corners the ban was evaded. Dame Alice Harrison's school at Fernyhalgh, near Preston, lived on. At Hammersmith there has always been the boast of an unbroken school tradition since pre-Reformation times. In other places a school migrated safely to somewhere else; Twyford became Standon Lordship. Subsequently a gap or two was filled up, as when Challoner sponsored the foundation of Sedgley Park and maintained thirty-four girls with Mrs. Carpue at Brook Green. But all these—and until 1792 their number at any one time was hardly twenty—touched only the upper stratum of the population. When the *Laity's Directory* at last found it safe to list them, in 1792, they

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appeared as fee-charging "academies". As such, the majority of them, except those above, were evanescent and transient. And they tell us next to nothing of the poor.

Ironically enough, the rise of schools for the non-Catholic poor, in the nation at large, was itself due in large part to those same dozen Jesuit schools established under James II. Poulton's school in the Savoy, and its fellow in Fenchurch Street, were both open free to children of all persuasions. In a fury against the Jesuits the first Protestant Charity Schools were hurriedly launched in London in 1690. Early in the new century the "training of the poor to poverty", under religious sanctions, became the accepted keynote in education for the lower orders.* By the end of the century the Vicars Apostolic were at their wits' end to prevent their own Catholic children from being completely caught up by the Anglican and Nonconformist Charity School system. How much had they been able to do for their own people in the meantime?

It has long been fashionable to ascribe the revival of Catholic education in England to four main influences, all of them beginning to operate at the time of the French Revolution. Up to a point the analysis is justified. In the first place, the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1791 removed the restrictions and made it no longer a felony for a Papist to keep a school. True, there was a highly equivocal oath of allegiance to be taken first, and any Papist schoolmaster about to benefit from a charitable bequest might find his legacy confiscated by law as devoted to "superstitious uses". The safeguarding of Catholic charities was to be a weary legal struggle, punctuated by landmark-cases in 1835, 1854 and 1919.

In the second place, the French Revolution sent home to England those Colleges and religious houses that had fled to the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. From Liège and Douay and the plains of Flanders, amid distress and imprisonment *en route*, successive caravans and rowing-boats were deposited on an English shore that had been gazed at wistfully for ten generations of exile;

* See M. O. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 110 and *passim*.

and havens were found that have become Stonyhurst and St. Edmund's, Ushaw and Downside and Oscott. By 1815 the "invasion" of 1793 was complete, and had taken root.

Thirdly, in similar destitution and with a like nostalgia, the train of French *émigrés* arriving, priests and laity, had reached a total of over 12,000 by 1795. They stayed for twenty years, kept schools for a living in newly founded parishes in London, and brought a plague of schismatic Blanchardism to weigh on the Vicars Apostolic.

Lastly, during these revolutionary years the Church found powerful friends in England, for lack of whom it would still have languished. Edmund Burke's speeches to the electors of Bristol in 1780 had sounded a sharp rebuff to persecution. Pitt's tactical advice to the Catholic Committee in 1788 had encouraged the emergence of a programme of Emancipation. The Anglican Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Horsley, was echoing the Committee from his seat in the Lords. At large the English Papists were comforted in a reflected warmth from that humanitarian sympathy with which, for example, the University of Oxford printed, free, two thousand Latin Testaments for the *émigré* clergy from France.

These are the aspects of the educational revival that have found their way into the standard monographs. But they are significant only up to a point. Of the returning schools and Colleges, some served a future priesthood and some an embryo professional middle-class. The houses of Religious offered a genteel schooling to girls. Most of the French priests became tutors in Academies; exceptions, like the Abbés Carron at Somers Town, Chevrollais at Stratford, Voyaux de Franous at Chelsea, Morel at Hampstead, got to work later; and except for these last, very few touched the poor. But since the future of a society depends in the long run upon the future of its proletariat, no understanding of the Catholic revival in England can be complete without a knowledge of how the Catholic poor—the bulk of the parishes—came to be schooled, and how the process began.

The short answer on this fundamental question is, in a word, self-help; mutual charity among Papists on the

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borderland of starvation, inaugurated by labourers, dispensed in tavern meetings, discouraged by sheer multitude, yet awake long before Relief was more than a dream.

Outside the "dwindling remnant" there was schooling in England for such as could listen. There were Charity Schools (after 1690), Sunday Schools (after 1763), Apprenticeship, and Schools of Industry. Papists could not legitimately send their children in any of these directions. But in England there were no Hedge Schools available; and the zeal of Protestant church-schools perhaps explains the toll of involuntary apostasy that Bishop Challoner deplored. Without a charity movement of its own the Faith bade fair to die out. So much so, indeed, that the earliest recorded philanthropic safeguard was created not for the children but, with grim sense of proportion, for the priests.

The secular Clergy Common Fund, established in 1701 in the depth of penal times, drew from each priest one-third of whatever means he might command, to be put into a pool for the service of fellow-priests suffering from infirmity or incapacity or (equally likely) imprisonment. Administered by Dr. Giffard as Vicar Apostolic of the London District, the fund prospered. Later on the bishops ceased to belong to it. And for over a century it remained the only fund of its kind.*

The first recorded Catholic Charity for the Laity, again, reached out not to the English poor but to the Irish. The "Irish Charitable Society" was founded by several Irish noblemen and gentlemen, as early as 1704, for the relief of poor and distressed Irish living in and around London. There are no means of knowing the size of the colony it catered for. No contemporary records have come to light. But the charity seems to have been disbursed until 1756, when the Committee ceased to meet; and even after this the funds continued to accrue, until in 1784 the society was merged in the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick—in which guise it was drawn by mistake into sectarian squabbles in London as late as 1816.†

* B. Ward, *Catholic London a Century Ago*, London, 1905, pp. 182–83.

† See *Protestant Advocate*, IV, 339 (1816).

The third charity, the Aged Poor Society, said to have been established in 1708, and still extant, has no connexion whatever with education. Its work consisted in giving "small pensions to poor superannuated and infirm Catholics", from funds raised mainly by means of annual sermons at the Sardinian (Embassy) Chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields.* It has a place here, however, as the last Catholic charity but one founded before attention was finally and permanently turned to the children. Little light is thrown upon its work until about 1756, when Challoner was holding the Sunday evening meetings in London that Milner describes. "As far back as the writer's recollection can trace the ministry of this holy prelate, about the years 1756 and 1757 . . . he was accustomed to hold his pious assembly" behind closed doors, and with frequent changes of quarters to ensure safety; at first in a hired room off Clare Market, Lincoln's Inn Fields, later in a stable a few yards away in Whetstone Park (Gate Street), later again at the Turnstile in Holborn.†

But here a confusion arises and must be cleared up. The gatherings which Bishop Milner refers to may indeed have begun as early as 1756, and have led to the formation of a society by charitable tradesmen of the neighbourhood. But this was not the Aged Poor Society. The description given by Canon Burton and Bishop Ward, "Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Aged and Infirm Poor", seems to antedate what really happened. The Benevolent Society of today claims to have been established in 1761; and its field was the Catholic poor "in the cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and the parts adjacent".‡ Its care was not only for widows but occasionally for orphans. A note in its Minute Book many years later shows how easily confusion over the two societies can arise. In 1827, during a dispute

* E. H. Burton, *Life of Challoner*, London, 1909, I, 370 and note; B. Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, London, 1909, I, 32, and *Catholic London*, pp. 171-72. The earliest extant document of the society is a report of 1820. Its *Report* of 1826 claims a foundation c. 1650.

† Milner, *Life of Challoner*, 1798, pp. 36-37; Burton, *Challoner*, i, 125 and note, 370-71 and note.

‡ The authority for date, title and scope, is *Laity's Directory* for 1822. See also *Catholic Miscellany*, ii, 483 (1823).

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between the two societies as to funds and collections, it was unanimously resolved at a meeting of the Benevolent Society on 20 January that :

The Moorfields Benevolent Society, which has existed two-thirds of a century, being founded in 1761, was instituted for the truly benevolent object of relieving the aged and infirm Catholic poor in London and its vicinity, and was at that time and for twenty years afterwards the only existing society organized for that pious and charitable purpose ; and that on the foundation of the Lincoln's Inn Fields society in 1781 for the relief of the aged poor in that district, the Moorfields Benevolent Society was relieved from a part of their labour, but still remained the only society which provided relief for the aged and infirm poor in the extensive congregations of Moorfields, St. George's Fields, Virginia Street, and the Eastern parts of the Metropolis . . .*

The statement here that the Lincoln's Inn Fields (Aged Poor) Society is no older than 1781 is not incompatible with the claim of that society to have been founded in 1708. For the Aged Poor Society itself records an interruption of its work by the Gordon Riots, and a resumption in 1781. Hence we have two societies—one of 1708 and one of 1761—serving respectively the districts of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Moorfields, and both concerned with the aged and infirm poor.

The Moorfields society was founded as a result of "the unassuming exertions of a few tradesmen who were occasionally in the habit of spending an evening in a public-house near Bunhill Row. Their custom was to recite together the office of the dead, then for each one to subscribe a trifle towards the funds, and to form plans for the management of their rising charitable association, while they forgot the labours of the day in a pint of porter and a pipe". The names of four of these founders have come down to us : Peter Lyons, a smith of Tooley Street, who died in 1789 ; Joseph Hunt, a Smithfield glazier and the father of a later Rector of Moorfields ; Peter Flarty, and one McCarthy, a baker of Bunhill Row. No records of their work exist before 1788. They are

* *Minute Book of the Benevolent Society, in the Custody of the clergy of St. Mary Moorfields.*

then found meeting at White Conduit House, in Islington, for annual dinners that raised over fifty pounds, and under the guidance of the Moorfields clergy, Frs. Greenham and Dungan (died 1797). The work was divided into four districts; an eastern, a western, the Borough and the City; each surveyed by two men, with George Mitchell as Secretary. Peter Lyons died in 1789 and left the Society an annuity of £52 and a quarter of his residuary estate, the negotiators being Charles Butler and one of the Carpue family.* The Benevolent Society, however, confined itself as a rule to *aged* poor. In a scheme of Catholic education it ranks as the last precursor to the children's charities.

One body only, as yet, had thought educationally. An anonymous pamphlet of 1733 gives us the following tantalizing scrap:

Fr. John Baptist Piggot . . . has formed a community of converted gentewomen in a neighbouring village to the northward of this city (London), and as they are (all of them) persons of fortune, they live very easy and happy under his direction. These gentewomen bestow large sums of money yearly, towards maintaining several poor Catholic families in this city, and send several considerable charities to colleges, seminaries and nunneries, founded for this nation in foreign countries. They also portion several young women, who become nuns beyond seas.†

But education popular and secular began in 1764. Moorfields had launched the Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Poor in 1761. Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1764 founded the Charitable Society for the Relief of Poor Children. The founder was the Rev. Henry Peach, who had recently come to serve the Sardinian Chapel. The first meeting was held on 7 October, at the "Blue Posts" in Cockpit Alley. It raised £5 16s., and immediately set to work "for the education of poor children born of Catholic parents". Thus was the first school created.‡

* *Ibid.*

† *The Present State of Popery in England*, 1733, p. 18.

‡ *Catholic Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1818, p. 291; J. Harting, *Hist. of the Sardinian Chapel*, 1905, p. 44f; *Lait's Directory* for 1809; Ward's account, in *Catholic London*, p. 170, telescopes what was then (1905) discoverable about the next forty years into a few lines.

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Nearly a century has elapsed [said a report long afterwards] since the pious charity of our Ancestors, moved with compassion at the view of the lamentable effects resulting from the deplorable ignorance and consequent irreligion of the poorer classes of Catholics, whether Irish, English or of any other nation, instituted schools, where, by early instruction in the tenets and practice of their religion, ere yet the seeds of evil had taken too deep a root, and by sufficient insight into common education, they might be protected from the destruction which appeared to await them, and guarded against the evil example of their illiterate and abandoned companions.*

The same document describes the school as providing uniform for the children. But of where it was in the Lincoln's Inn Fields neighbourhood, and of how it was run, there is no trace. All we know is that it may have drawn off Catholic children from the two Anglican Charity Schools already established there, St. Giles's (of 1672) and the Bloomsbury Parochial Schools (of 1705).† Its early records may have perished in the Gordon Riots; and the Rate Returns of the neighbourhood for 1764-65 throw no light on its location.‡

New rules for the Society were drawn up in the following year (1765), under the auspices of three priests: Henry Horne and John Sudell of the Sardinian Chapel, and Augustine Lamb. Two of the Carpue family that had recently opened a school at Hammersmith, Charles (of Knightsbridge) and Edward (of Serle Street), were Treasurer and Secretary of the society respectively. At the Anniversary Dinner held in 1767 at the King Henry VIII's Head, in Chancery Lane, £6 8s. was raised.§ But after this there are few tidings of the society until 1811, when the school was situated in Wild Court, off Drury Lane.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of two crusades, in two centres that are indeed the cradle of England's revived Catholicism. At Moorfields there had been two

* Associated Catholic Charities, *Rules* for 1845, p. 3 (discovered in a strong-box in the custody of Witham and Co., Gray's Inn Square).

† For these see G. Clinch, *Bloomsbury and St. Giles*, London, 1890, pp. 55, 63.

‡ Holborn: *Poor Rate* lists, 1764-65, Drury Lane and Holborn End.

§ Assoc. Catholic Charities, *Rules* for 1845, p. 4; Harting, *op cit.*, p. 44.

secret Mass-houses as early as 1740, lurking at the end of Ropemakers' Alley and known to the uninitiated as "penny hotels". According to a later episcopal report to Rome, the Catholic population of Moorfields at that time must have numbered under four thousand.* In Lincoln's Inn, on the contrary, the Sardinian Embassy Chapel that formed the Catholic nucleus was one of the seven (only) in the whole country that were legal.†

These two beginnings seem a poor challenge to have provoked the following letter in the *Public Advertiser*:
 "... We now see Popish Mass-Houses, and what is as bad if not worse, Popish schools, increasing daily, in Defiance of all our Laws, which, properly enforced, might prove a firm Security against the Attempts of our domestic Invader."‡

In 1764 only one other chapel of any sort existed in the metropolis. This was the Virginia Street Chapel, then three years old, built to minister to an Irish proletarian waterside quarter, and served by the Rev. J. Webb, the hero of Lord Mansfield's ruling against the informer Paine in 1768. It was here that the second school was to appear, fourteen years later.

Nothing is known in detail of developments in these centres for some years after 1764. And outside them, only one other mission was started. This was the Bermondsey Mission, centred on a chapel in East Lane (1773), built by the Rev. Gerald Shaw, and serving parts of Rotherhithe as well.§

But there is one other event of these years that was to have untold Catholic and educational significance a generation later. On 1 May, 1775, the foundation-stone of the Freemasons' Tavern was laid in Great Queen Street, off Lincoln's Inn Fields. The founder was the Grand Master, Lord Petre; and Lord Petre was a Catholic peer. The existence of Catholic Freemasons in England in the eighteenth century need neither surprise nor disturb us. It is true that Freemasonry had already been condemned—by the Bull *In Eminenti Apostolorum*

* Dr. Poynter's report of 1816.

† See Maitland, *Hist. of London*, 1739, ii, 1190.

‡ *Public Advertiser*, 23 November, 1765.

§ See Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival*, 1909, I, 27 and note.

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Specula of Pope Clement XII in 1738. But English and Continental Freemasonry were different things, and in England at the time Masonry and Jacobitism went hand in hand. Moreover, Father J. B. Gunston, *alias* John Sharp, had gone the round of the London lodges in 1736 making converts to the Church.* The significance of Lord Petre's ceremony in 1775 is that later on the Freemasons' Tavern became the scene of more than one Catholic Charity Dinner every year, and the culinary inspiration of the charity budgets. Nor was this the only link between the English Catholics and Masonry, as we shall see.

Three years later the second school was started; in Virginia Street. Again, little more than the fact of its foundation has come to light, for its records before 1806 have been lost. But at least we know that it was a separate Charity from those at Bunhill Row and Lincoln's Inn Fields, although the personnel of all three may have overlapped. One man at least was common to two of them: Peter Lyons, the Tooley Street smith of the Moorfields Charity of 1761, was a member of the Virginia Street Committee, and endowed places for orphans in the school upon his death. The institution was known as the Wapping and District Charity School for Educating and Clothing Poor Catholic Children. Only one account of its creation has survived:

In the year 1778 a few charitable individuals, commiserating the total want of instruction among the children of the poor Irish who inhabited that part of the waterside district in which Virginia Street Chapel is situated, associated together for the purpose of forming a school in which about thirty poor Irish boys might be educated.†

This bald, uncoloured statement seems incredibly naïve when read against its known background. London in the middle of the eighteenth century was a hotbed of those congested "Rookeries" which, safely hidden from the gaze of passers-by along the highroads, must have

* Details in an article by H. T. Thurston, S.J., in *The Tablet*, 2 April, 1910, p. 523. For the Freemasons' Tavern and Lord Petre see J. T. Smith, *An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London*, 2nd Ed., 1846, I, 299.

† *Catholic Miscellany*, Vol. I, no. 3, p. 136 (1822), Vol. II, p. 170 (1823).

beggared description for squalor and hopelessness. The Virginia Street neighbourhood, along the Ratcliffe Highway, and the Lincoln's Inn Fields area further west, were the worst of these ; and both were the first centres of Catholic charity movements.

Among those districts which bear away the palm of vice, misery and filth, there is perhaps none more famous than that part of London which lies between the Tower and the Isle of Dogs. There is a particular locality, however, forming part of this Cimmerian region, which may repay our investigation ; it may be defined as the district bounded on the south by the Thames, on the west by the Minories, on the north by the Commercial Road, on the east by the basin of the Regent's Canal. This part of the town forms an irregular parallelogram, and is a spot which the sailors much frequent, because it is so near the shipping. . . . Many of the buildings in this neighbourhood are of wood—for the Great Fire did not extend to the Tower ; so that the long, narrow streets, with their intersections of courts and alleys, remain in a condition little removed from their original form. The streets are not wider, less tortuous ; the alleys are as formerly, *culs-de-sac*—the only entrance from the street ; and if the main thoroughfares are uneven, the road narrow, the houses crumbling with age, with fronts of every variety, what must the background be ?*

As to the conditions of life within these rookeries, the parish of St. Giles, adjoining Lincoln's Inn Fields, immortalized in Hogarth's picture of Gin Lane, astounded even Fielding.†

There are a great number of houses set apart for the reception of idle rogues and vagabonds who have their lodging there for twopence a night ; and in the above parish, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, one woman alone occupies seven of these houses, all properly accommodated with miserable beds, from the cellar to the garret, for such twopenny lodgers ; in these beds, several of which are in the same room, men and women, often strangers to each other, lie promiscuously. . . . Gin is sold to them a penny a quartern ; in the execution of search-warrants, Mr. Welch rarely finds less than twenty of them open at a time . . . the windows stuffed up with rags, or patched with paper ; strings hung across from house to house, on which clothes were put out to

* T. Beames, *The Rookeries of London*, 3rd ed., 1852, pp. 91ff.

† See his *Crimes and Offences*.

dry; the gutters stagnant, choked up with filth; the pavements strewn with decayed cabbage-stalks and other vegetables; the walls of the houses mouldy, discoloured, the whitewash peeling off from damp; the walls in parts bulging, in parts receding; the floor covered with a coating of dirt. . . . Because all are taken in who can pay their footing, the thief and the prostitute are harboured among those whose only crime is poverty, and there is thus always a comparatively secure retreat for him who has outraged his country's laws. Sums are here paid, a tithe of which, if well laid-out, would provide at once a decent and an ample lodging for the deserving poor; and that surplus, which might add to the comfort and better the condition of the industrious, finds its way into the pocket of the middleman.

Whether the Wapping school was a result of the Relief Act passed in the same year, or whether it was yet another clandestine adventure, cannot be ascertained. The Relief Bill received the Royal Assent on 3 June. Meagre as were its terms, its passage did at least bring together in amicable discussion men of all parties, the Catholic gentry, Bishop Challoner and Edmund Burke on one side, and Dalrymple, Lords North and Mansfield and Townsend on the other; whereby, despite qualms on both sides, its second reading in the Commons was unopposed. The effect of the Act on schools and schoolmasters was twofold; there was no longer to be perpetual imprisonment for keeping a Papist school, and there were to be no more rewards for informers. At a stroke, therefore, the sprinkling of private Catholic schools throughout the country became at least worth the risk of expansion,* though the nascent movement for popular education that was going on in London was still at the mercy of financial confiscation, as being superstitious. It is not surprising, then, that the *Laity's Directory* continued for a while as discreet as before, and suppressed the names of all Catholic publishers, printers, priests, chapels, schools and advertisers.† On the other hand, there is a warmth of relief in Charles Butler's reflection years afterwards about this first Act: "It shook the general prejudice against

* A full study of these is to be found in W. F. Hastings, *The Education of English Catholics, 1559-1800*, London University unpublished thesis, 1923.

† Cf. W. J. Amherst, *Catholic Emancipation* i, 36.

them to its centre, and restored to them a thousand indescribable charities in the ordinary intercourse of social life.”*

But particular prejudices persisted, and within two years the Gordon Riots vented them; at first on Sir George Savile, the Protestant sponsor of the Relief Bill, and forthwith upon as much Catholic property in London and other cities as could be identified and got at. The famous Defence of the Protestant Association, still said to have been penned by John Wesley, suggests a progress that goes far beyond anything one might have hoped to find in lost Catholic records.

However unconcerned the present generation may be, and unapprehensive of danger from the amazing growth of Popery; how calmly soever they may behold the erection of Popish chapels, hear of Popish schools being opened, and see Popish books being publicly advertised, they are to be informed that our ancestors, whose wisdom and firmness have transmitted to us those religious and civil liberties which we now enjoy, had very different conceptions on this matter.†

The narrative of how the mob followed Lord George Gordon at behests such as this has often been told, and the wrack of it is to be traced in the Old Bailey Sessions Records. But all the sources are vague as to places and persons. Even the *Morning Post*, which of all contemporary accounts was the most day-to-day, gave most of its space to an attack on the ideas of the “unconstitutional republicans”, and tells little to help us assess the number and scope of the Popish educational centres that the mob destroyed during that June weekend.‡

Encouraged by . . . lenity, they began on Monday, as might well be expected, to grow more daring and desperate. Early in the day they demolished the School-House and three dwelling-houses in Ropemaker's Alley, Moorfields, belonging to the priests, with a valuable library of books. They pulled down a house belonging to the Roman Catholic Schoolmaster in Moorfields in about one

* *Hist. Memoirs*, iii, 194.

† Quoted in Burton, *Challoner*, ii, 16. But Wesley was in the North at the time of the Riots.

‡ “. . . and under the public idea of Wat Tylering the House of Commons into a redress of grievances”.—*Morning Post*, Tues., 6 June, 1780.

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hour ; which when done, some thousands went to a Popish school in Charles Square, Hoxton, and behaved in a very riotous manner.*

They fired the Sardinian, Bavarian, Bermondsey and Virginia Street chapels, though Fr. Coen at Virginia Street said he could have mustered 3000 Irishmen from his parishioners as a defence force. And altogether fifty-eight Catholic premises destroyed in London have been listed.†

Such are the fragments of information that have survived. The first of them is the most significant ; for, unless the school at Moorfields was in private hands, a link of continuity between it and the school to be seen there undeniably in 1815 (in Lamb's Passage, Bunhill Row) becomes plausible.

How far the riots acted as a setback is an open question. In Canon Burton's view, "the Catholics of London might well be too cowed and terrified to venture on reinstating the humble buildings, the very obscurity of which had not been able to save them". Many non-Catholic well-wishers, moreover, besides the Catholic clergy, for a moment regretted the Act of 1778. Even Sir George Savile himself, the original promoter of relief, went so far as to table a Bill later in 1780 that would save Catholics from mob fury by preventing them from "keeping schools or receiving young persons as boarders or as apprentices". But the Lords rejected it.‡ Again, two more years were to elapse before the last recorded cases of English Catholics being fined and distrained upon for non-attendance at the Established Church.§ But according to a return made to the House of Lords in 1780, the Catholic population had increased by nearly two thousand during the preceding three years, and by 1785 there were to be as many as 170 private chapels in the country.|| These were

* *Political Magazine*, 1780, pp. 482ff ; *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1780, p. 268.

See also *London Chronicle*, 6 June, 1780.

† See Burton, *Challoner*, ii, Appendix G.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii, 263, 269. Cf. the opinion of Joseph Berington, *State and Behaviour of the English Catholics*, 2nd ed., 1781, p. 196, and of Bishop Walmesley, quoted in Ward, *Dawn*, i, 6.

§ Flanagan, *British and Irish History*, quoted in T. Murphy, *Position of the Catholic Church in England* . . ., 1892, p. 45.

|| Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

the auguries under which Bishop Talbot succeeded Challoner in 1781.

There is no evidence that what schooling had already begun was at all curtailed. On the contrary,

these establishments were speedily much encouraged and protected, and soon produced a sensible and happy change. Much, however, remained to be done. The Directors of the Schools had often witnessed, with deep regret, the wretched state of the children, preventing not only their regular attendance at the Schools, but too frequently, owing to the want of decent covering, their appearance at our places of Divine worship. Accordingly, it was then determined to furnish uniform clothing for that purpose to as many of the children as the funds of the [1764] Charity would allow.

Schooling was thus early found to be impossible without an extension of the Charity's work to clothing.*

But, equally true, schooling would rapidly prove futile, in the environment of 1780, without some carry-over, safeguarded, into adolescence. The realization of this produced the next forward step: the foundation, in 1784, of a society for *apprenticing* children. And here at last we find definitive detail.

The existence of Charity feelingly demonstrated the necessity . . . of providing situations for the children, in virtuous and decent Catholic families where the religious and moral precepts which they had been taught while at school might be reduced to practice, and themselves preserved, under the protecting care of a pious master or mistress, from the dangers and misfortunes to which the children of the poor are peculiarly exposed.†

The society was founded on 25 March, 1784, and was known as the Beneficent Society for Putting out Apprentices such Poor Boys as have no relations, or whose relations are incapable of providing for them.‡ Charles Butler of Lincoln's Inn, soon to be the first Catholic barrister under the Relief Act of 1791, became its Secretary in 1786. Its

* Assoc. Cath. Charities, *Rules* for 1845, p. 3.

† *Ibid.*, p. 4.

‡ See appeal in *Laitty's Directory*, 1809.

Minute Books, like those of its predecessor in 1764, have not come to light. But the Log of Apprentices is extant,* from the beginning in 1784 down to 1846, and is invaluable, though its discovery alone shows that the records of these charities have been separated and dispersed.

This book gives the name of each apprentice, his parents, their abode, the person recommending him, the master to whom he was bound, the date of the indenture, and the premium. During the first fourteen years, down to the end of the century, 135 boys were apprenticed; sometimes (as at first) only one a year; at the most, 16; on an average, 8 a year, at a premium of £10 each (till December 1786), £10 17s. 6d. (till June 1795), £10 19s. 6d. (till April 1797), and £11 6s. (till March 1801).

Of these 135 boys, sixteen came from the parish of St. Marylebone, thirteen from St. James's, Westminster; eleven from St. Giles in the Fields; ten from St. Martin's in the Fields; nine from Southwark; eight from Shadwell; seven from St. Pancras; six from Whitechapel; five each from St. George's (Hanover Square) and Holborn; four from Soho; three each from St. Clement Danes and St. George the Martyr; two each from Spitalfields, Bishopsgate, Covent Garden, Cripplegate and Bloomsbury; two from places unknown; and one each from Old Ford, Old Bailey, Wapping, Mile End, Minories, St. Sepulchre's, Newington, Moorfields, Tower, Shoreditch, Aldgate and Bermondsey. Eleven came from further afield: Standon in Herts, Ewell, Wolverhampton, Cork, "Christchurch Surrey" (two), Barking, Leicester, Yorkshire, Winchester and Hammersmith.

The total number of persons recommending these boys, down to 1800, is eighty-seven. Most of them appear in the list once only. The others were annual subscribers for certain periods. Five of the Carpue family figure prominently, but only one of the Catholic gentry—Sir Henry Englefield (1795 onwards). Of the regular subscribers, Charles Carpue recommended twelve boys, Edward Carpue three, Thomas Kiernan three, Mr.

* In the custody of Witham and Co., Gray's Inn Square. Two brief references to the 1784 society are to be found in Ward, *Catholic London*, p. 173., and J. Harting, *Hist. of the Sardinian Chapel*, p. 45.

Marsano three, Sir Henry Englefield five, several others two each. All the names are those of laymen, except six priests: James Archer (1786 and 1793), Samson (1787), Hussey (1788 and 1796), Robinson (1788), Ferrers (1792), and Joseph Carpue (1796).

Only seventeen of the boys were apprenticed within their own parish, and these included the cases from Wolverhampton and Yorkshire. But many were bound within an adjoining parish, though the majority were taken sufficiently far from their parents to make contact difficult. Altogether forty-six occupations are represented in the lists. The two trades that took most of the boys were Cordwainer (thirty) and Taylor (nineteen), from places as far apart as Hammersmith and Shadwell; and whitesmiths, glaziers, coopers, cabinet-makers, painters, carpenters, gilders and hatmakers each account for at least four. But it is impossible to tell what followed the apprenticeship, since a final column headed "What came of" does not begin till 1816. When it does, its tale is full of gloom and leakage: "A bad boy", "Ran away", "Indenture cancelled ran away to sea", "Indenture cancelled, master in gaol", etc.

The Apprentice Book proves that the Beneficent Society was general in its membership and scope, and not confined (as were the Lincoln's Inn and Wapping Charities) to one locality. Of the boys put out by Charles Carpue (who himself lived in Knightsbridge) two came from Westminster, one from St. Martin's in the Fields, one from the Tower, four from St. George's in the East, one from Soho, two from Southwark. Similarly, the range of activity outside London shows that the society was at the service of all who could contribute to its funds. Like the Benevolent Society of 1761, therefore, it was a Catholic Charity in a national and non-parochial sense. Obviously, too, while success depended on funds, the pace of apprenticing depended on the pace of schooling. And this, for Catholics, meant a twofold need: not only for Charity Day Schools, which had begun, but also for Sunday Schools, which had not.

In September of that same year, 1784, the first traceable movement for Sunday schooling for Catholic children

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as such did indeed take shape. The Sunday School movement of Robert Raikes, emanating from Gloucester, was then four years old. Within another year the Circulating Schools begun by Griffith Jones in Wales were to be revived by Thomas Charles of Bala. On 28 September, 1784, at Manchester, a meeting was held at the instance of the borough-reeve and the constable, to secure the establishment of Sunday Schools. A committee was formed under Sir John Parker Mosley, comprising Churchmen, Dissenters and Catholics. It is said to have worked without any sectarian ruptures until 1800.

Such a committee was unprecedented. The ticklish issues latent in its composition will be readily appreciated. Thirty years later they were to become rampant, in the forgotten interdenominational-school war. The remarkable thing is, however, that many of the arguments on the interdenominational issue that were used then, and that are used today whenever analogous circumstances arise, can be found crystallized already in 1788, in an equally forgotten pamphlet by a Catholic priest.

It is to Joseph Berington that we owe most of our knowledge of Catholicism during these years. His *State and Behaviour of the English Catholics*, published in 1781, has long been a classic and a primary source, albeit suspect in certain degrees (since there is reason to believe that he minimized his findings in the interests of toleration). But no less epoch-making is his *Essay on Sunday Schools*, published in 1788, a work entirely obscured. This took its cue from the lawlessness and depravity prevailing in all big cities, and denied that proclamations or instructions to magistrates could have any avail. The evil, urged Berington, lay deeper, and was a hydra. Robert Raikes had realized this, and Sunday Schools had been his answer. But, since the Reformation, religious cleavage had persisted so acutely that Sunday Schools were almost a form of warfare. Churchmen and Dissenters, by deliberate policy and by exclusive rules, were starving each other's children of all schooling, material and moral. (One is reminded here of Joseph Lancaster's stricture later, that "thousands of children are being deprived of an education while Dissenters and Churchmen quarrel over who shall

give it.")* As a way out, Berington offered a revolutionary suggestion.

Let me then propose that schools be opened on a more extended plan; and that, in this business, we for once forget that we are Church of England men, Presbyterians, Baptists, Roman Catholics or Quakers. This is to ask much, I know; but let the experiment be tried. Use will form us to it. The plan I mean is this. Where schools are established, let children of all religions be invited to enter. But then it will be necessary that elementary books of instruction be prepared, which shall contain nothing contrary to the peculiar tenets of any Christian society. . . . Where are the objections to such a scheme as this? The compiling of the books, or catechisms, will be an easy task. They must be elementary, but practical and comprehensive. When we have separated from each society its distinctive opinions, which are mostly speculative, will be left a great mass of Christian doctrine, and the whole system of moral duties. Of these we will form a new religious code; to which none shall object, because he before professed it all, with the addition only of certain tenets.

To the objection that this would mean morality without orthodoxy, and indifference in matters of doctrine, he replied that the children would be made to attend their own places of worship, where their own ministers could secure their orthodoxy and zeal; for a Sunday School was only a *school*.†

"Use will form us to it." Many a priest must have lain awake over that reflection, when the time came that Catholic children were being drawn off to just such interdenominational schools as Fr. Berington advocated. But, for the moment, here was the idea, and in Manchester the experiment: and both before the second Relief Act.‡

In London, one further mission school was inaugurated before the passing of the Act. Chapel and schools seem to have been started simultaneously in 1789.§ The

* *Improvements in Education*, 1803, p. 27. For the Manchester Committee, see S. E. Maltby, *Manchester and the Movement for Popular Education*, 1918, p. 36.

† Joseph Berington, *Essay on the Depravity of the Nation, with a View to the Promotion of Sunday Schools*, Birmingham, 1788, p. 27ff.

‡ There were germs of other educational quarrels at this time as well. See the plan of the Catholic Committee for a school "for those who are destined for civil and commercial life"—to obviate the need to go abroad, May, 1787, in Ward, *Dawn*, i, 108ff.

§ Authority for date is *Catholicon*, vi, 121 (1818).

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chapel, planned by James Taylor, the architect of Old Hall and Ushaw, as a permanent successor to an old Mass House in Bandyleg Walk, St. George's in the Fields, took four years to build, and was opened by Fr. Arthur O'Leary. The schools, opened by a convert American priest, Fr. John Thayer, were the work of a new charity—the Southwark Charitable Society, established in the March of 1789. The original sites were in Price's Yard (Southwark Street) and Glasshouse Yard (Gravel Lane). But nothing is known of their development before 1800, beyond a laconic plea in the *Directory* for that year: "There are also Schools for boys and girls of indigent Catholic parents, kept separate; for which there is a feast annually in May, and a subscription collected."

The Relief Act of 1791 is said to have finally removed the Penal Code. The Mass became legal, subject to chapel-registration and "bell and steeple" restrictions, and an oath from the clergy; and Papist schools became legal, subject to an oath from the master that continued to be necessary down to 1872. What disabilities remained were defended almost shamefacedly. "As there are few religious principles that are wholly disconnected with politics", said Lord Rawdon during the second reading in the Lords, "a test is rendered necessary on this, the only ground upon which it could be justified." But the Bishop of London carried through an amendment to prevent Catholic schoolmasters from setting up in the Universities, or receiving Protestant children, and clause 16 declared that "Nothing in this Act contained shall make it lawful to found, endow or establish . . . any school, academy or college by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion". Hence an inconsistency that warranted the Lord Chancellor's verdict of "downright nonsense", and left the Catholic Charities in a highly equivocal position.*

The Charities, despite regular membership and annual sermon-collections, would have languished without endowments and bequests. Yet the Act of 1791 expressly renewed all former laws concerning the disposal of money

* *Morning Post*, June 1, 5, 7, 1791. See the Act (31 Geo. III, c. 32), cl. 12, 14-16.

for superstitious purposes. It therefore "continued to be fraught with grave risk to leave legacies for any Catholic charities, and in some cases these were positively illegal. Catholics therefore continued for long after this to leave such monies to personal friends, whom they would privately instruct as to their application".* On the other hand, it is doubtful whether the intention behind the Act was indeed so restrictive. The actual legal position was made clear to the nation twenty years later, in Charles Butler's evidence before Brougham's Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis :

- Q. Can Catholics devise property for the purpose of endowing schools ?—A. No.
- Q. What prevents them ?—A. The law of King William, and the statute of Edward VI, of superstitious houses.
- Q. In case a Catholic devises property for the purpose of endowing a school, what becomes of the property so devised ?—A. He devises it to a trustee without expressing the trust.
- Q. If he expresses the trust, in what manner can the object of the devise be put aside ?—A. By a Bill in Chancery, as is frequently done in reported cases. . . .
- Q. Then, in point of fact, no Catholic can grant property legally or safely for the purpose of promoting the education of Catholics in this country ?—A. Certainly not.†

Nevertheless, the expansion of Catholic activities after the passing of the Act was phenomenal. Already a periodical had been started,‡ and within a year the *Directory* was listing eighteen chapels in and around London, of which at least two were soon to become charity-school centres. These were the chapels in Westminster (York Street, Queen Square), and Soho (St. Patrick's), both opened in 1792. In the same year Bishop Milner established a poor school in Winchester, with building costs defrayed by Mrs. Heneage.§ This is

* Ward, *Dawn*, i, 312.

† *Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis*, p. 258, evidence of Charles Butler, 13 June, 1816. See also *Orthodox Journal*, iv, 320-22 (1816).

‡ See J. R. Fletcher, "Early Catholic Periodicals in England", in *Dublin Review*, xcvi, 287 (1936).

§ Milner, *Hist. of Winchester*, 1798, ii, 241 ; Ward, *Dawn*, i, 309-10.

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the first charity school created outside London that can be authenticated. Indications of others—at Great Eccleston, Lancs. (1780), Bristol (Trenchard Street, 1790), and Kendal (Stramongate, 1800), need further investigation.

Amid these developments a second *national* body came into existence. The first, the Beneficent Society of 1784, was helping to school and clothe such children as had parents to sponsor them. Orphans, therefore, were left entirely neglected except for the ministrations of the overburdened Benevolent Society of 1761. A new organization, accordingly, was now established (1796), again in humble circumstances, and with a meagre beginning, to fill the gap. "The most distressed, and at the same time the most interesting objects of Charity, Catholic orphans, were hitherto unprovided for, owing to the want of means. The melancholy consequences were, many infant sufferers . . . were given up, from dire necessity, to the workhouses . . ." To prevent this, there emerged the Laudable Association for Raising a Fund for the Maintenance and Education of Poor Catholic Children. It originated in a gathering of "several working men" at the "Mariners" in Fore Street (near Moorfields), on the basis of a penny-a-week fund.* This body, with the earlier foundations of 1764 and 1784, made up a trio devoted severally to educating, apprenticing and clothing. No more *central* bodies were subsequently founded.

These were the three which, when fused in 1811, became the central, national authority for Catholic pauper education. As such, they are the lineal ancestor of the Poor School Committee of 1847, and of the Catholic Education Council today.

As far as can be traced, moreover, only two more *local* educational charities arose before the end of the century. One served Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. "A school for poor Catholic children of these parts has lately been set on foot", said the *Directory* for 1800, "by the Rev. Mr. Broderick; which, for the poverty of the place, and the great number of objects that present themselves, claims

* Assoc. Cath. Charities, *Rules* for 1845, p. 4; *Catholic Miscellany*, Nov. 1823, p. 484.

particular attention of the charitable Catholics ; as that alone is the source by which so laudable an undertaking must subsist." Irish merchants and traders in London gave support, but the schools wandered the streets for some time before coming to rest finally in Paradise Street, Rotherhithe, on a bequest from the Baroness Montesquieu.*

The other foundation is the only one that has survived sheer oblivion : the schools of the Abbé Carron at Somers Town. These indeed have achieved a whimsical fame. They began as a result of migration from the Tottenham Court Road area, where the Abbé, immediately upon his arrival as an *émigré* from France, had established two chapels and two schools for *émigré* and other children in September 1796. Two years later he moved to Somers Town, lodged with the Abbé Chantrel of Jersey in Skinner Street while prospecting for premises, and then set up four schools : one for boys (59 Clarendon Street), one for girls (58 Clarendon Street), one for "young ladies and gentlemen of fortune" (3 Phoenix Street), and one for "ladies" (1 Phoenix Street) : all staffed by French teachers of both sexes. Here he remained until 1815, by which time he had contrived to collect over £100,000 in alms. And here in 1808 he erected his chapel of St. Aloysius and built his poor-schools.†

The London into which these few schools were born has been eloquently described, as to its streets and general appearance at the close of the eighteenth century, in Bishop Ward's *Catholic London a Century Ago*. The darker aspects of the city made such schools more than ever needed : in terms of Irish immigration and "Rookeries". Yet Dr. Douglass could report optimistically, as Vicar Apostolic in 1800, that "the Catholic religion is now beginning to flourish, and as public sermons and services in the chapels are now permitted, many conversions are the result. There are now in London ten public chapels, with thirty-seven priests".

Cursory statements are on record that by 1800 there

* *Laity's Directory*, 1800, p. 5 ; also a letter in *The Universe*, 23 June, 1933.

† *Vie de l'Abbé Carron*, pp. 58, 60 ; J. Harting, *Catholic London Missions*, 1905, pp. 241, 244 ; *Tablet*, 10 Oct., 1908, pp. 581-82.

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may have been ten Catholic elementary schools in existence, compared with four Baptist, eight Unitarian, seven Wesleyan and one Calvinistic Methodist.* But the only ones whose existence can be proved are those dealt with in this article: i.e. Lincoln's Inn Fields (1764), Wapping (1778), St. George's Fields (1788-89), Bristol (1790), Winchester (1792), Tottenham Court Road (1796), and Bermondsey (1799). And beyond the fact of their existence, very little has as yet been discovered. Much information might have been forthcoming about all of them had the Monastic Institutions Bill of 1800 not been rejected by the Lords: for a clause in that Bill would have saddled on all Catholic schools an inspection at intervals by the Justices of the Peace.† As things are, we know nothing whatever of their administration before 1800. A few years later, with full records for Wapping from 1806 to 1821, and for St. Patrick's, Soho, from its foundation in 1803 down to 1814, to say nothing of the Associated Catholic Charities' records after 1811, evidence accumulates that allows us to read backwards into the previous generation—though only by conjecture and inference.

But none the less, meagre as they are, the established facts show a Catholic education movement in London well in hand at the very time when, in the country at large, other pioneers were beginning to create the popular education of the nineteenth century. For it was only in 1796 that the "Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor" was set up by Barnard and Wilberforce; and only in 1798 that Andrew Bell fathered monitors upon the Charity School of St. Botolph. After 1800 the life of the Catholic schools becomes fairly easily traceable, and their rapid increase can be plotted from year to year. Even so, nothing has been written about them. The discovery of their origin is but a first step in tracing their relations with the State and with secular education.

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* See e.g. T. Murphy, *Position of the Catholic Church in England* . . . (1892), p. 66, and *Catholic Encyclopedia*, xiii, 594.

† See history of the Bill in Ward, *Dawn*, ii, 200ff.

REVOLUTION FROM THE RIGHT

PERHAPS the linking of the Church with Fascism is not so prevalent as it was some years ago. Perhaps the development of the Nazi revolution has to some extent silenced the old critics whose practice it was to assemble dictators, industrialists, financiers, officers and priests together under the sinister banner of "reaction". But no one can pretend that time has entirely silenced the cry and, as many feel, the reproach that Catholics are prepared for unnecessary lengths of compromise with the revolutionary forces of the Right and sometimes seem indeed actively to support them.

If, for the sake of argument, it is admitted that the Church does show greater leniency in her dealings with the Right, we do not have to go far for an explanation. Everyone knows that the Church fights Communism but it is perhaps less generally realized that the Church also fought its spiritual father and, for that matter, its spiritual grandfather too, since most of the principles of Communism which are at variance with the Catholic spirit—its atheism, its materialistic, mechanistic interpretation of the universe, its subordination of spiritual to material ends, above all its degradation of human personality to that of an "economic" unit in a functioning collectivity—are to be found, explicitly or implicitly, in nineteenth-century Liberalism and, in turn, in its parent, the eighteenth-century rationalism of the Encyclopedists. That the Church was right in her attack is testified to by the shipwreck of our modern godless economic society, but the fact that Catholics have been on the defensive against a certain ideology for nearly two hundred years brings with it certain awkward consequences. One is the danger of concentration. It is notoriously difficult to fight a battle on two fronts, yet the Church has never received a guarantee that her enemies would always be of one colour or always attack from the same position. Another is rigidity, the inability to distinguish a change in substance below a façade which remains the same, and a tendency to allow words—the ordinary currency of intercourse—to take the place of thoughtful analysis.

To give one example, the word "property" obviously meant something very different in the landed eighteenth century and in the early days of "single-owner" capitalist enterprise from today, when a vast amount of property has been thoroughly "collectivized" in the interests of the few, for example, of the non-working, non-controlling, entirely anonymous collectivity of shareholders. That this property bears little or no resemblance to the kind of private property, fruit of thrift and guarantee of independence, commended in principle by the Church, is apparently obvious. Yet how much confusion arises on just this point when the "right of private property" is used to defend concentrations of irresponsible power explicitly condemned by the Church, when, as Pius XI put it, "the right of private property defended by the Church" has "so often been abused to defraud the working man of his wages and his social rights".* Another confusion in the use of the word "authority" will be discussed later.

A further disadvantage of this lengthily-held defensive position lies in the variety of auxiliaries whom the Church has seen fighting, if not under her banner, at least by her side. Because the enemy upheld an economic and materialist order, Catholics at first had supporters among the ranks of the feudalists and monarchists who looked back to an earlier, non-economic society—and in this way found themselves among the "reactionaries". Later their defence of property and their inevitable condemnation of violent methods of changing the social fabric won the support of the propertied classes and of those in whose interests it lay to prevent any modification of the status quo, while it tended to alienate from the Church the poor who, according to Christ's promise, should have been in an especial sense her children, those poor to whom as a sign the Gospel was to be preached. And this unfortunate connexion between the Church's defence of human rights and social order on the one hand, and human greed and social opportunism on the other, is reinforced on the side of the Church by an evil common to all human institutions, the evil of incor-

* *Divini Redemptoris*, § 50.

poration in the secular order. Our Lord had no illusions about the future of His Church. There would be a lump and there would be a leaven, there would be the unseasoned mass and the salt to season it, and even this salt would at times lose its savour and be fit for nothing but to be cast out. The mass of believers in every age constitute a nondescript selection from all social classes. As such, they share the prejudices, the faults, the phobias of their kind. These they carry over into their religious life. They tend to be industrialists, landlords, privy councillors, influential persons, successful politicians first, Catholics afterwards. Unfortunately the things said by Mr. Mandragon, the millionaire, as a fierce defender of the capitalist system, can be interpreted as coming from the lips of Mr. Mandragon, the well-known Catholic, and the Church bears the brunt. The dicta of rich men, bad men, stupid men, selfish men inside the Church are no worse than those of other men outside the fold. But the errors of the straying sheep are not laid at the door of the shepherd, whereas any stick—any careless statement or misguided speech—can be used to beat the Church. Pius XI admitted sorrowfully that “the manner of acting in certain Catholic circles has done much to shake the faith of the working class in the religion of Jesus Christ”.* But unless the Church is conducted on the Gnostic principle of excluding all but the elect, scandal must come. Nor does self-election by the elect offer any secure solution. The Church is the net of Peter. We were given no explicit undertaking by God that it would not contain sharks.

Yet, although an institution which is already two thousand years old necessarily tends under its human aspect to be conservative, and although the Church, whose constant aim it is to absorb into herself the existing fabric of society, necessarily tends to prefer the fabric on which she has been at work to some totally new fabric which may prove entirely intractable, the difficulties created for her by the revolutions of the Right spring rather from their nature than from her reactions to them. That this point has seldom, if ever,

* *Divini Redemptoris*, § 50.

been made is due to the time it has taken for political theorists to make up their minds about Fascism and to expound the significance of the Fascist revolution. In the ten years which elapsed between Mussolini's and Hitler's revolution, Fascism was a local variant on the general theme of democracy. Sometimes it was contemptuously put down to the Italians' inability to govern themselves. On the Left, it was a capitalist conspiracy to break the independent labour movement and postpone (but not thwart) the coming proletarian revolution. The Right, especially once a visit to Italy had given evidence of cleaner streets and more punctual trains, tended to call it "a triumph of the forces of order". Mussolini himself declared it was not "an article for export". On the whole its emergence in an otherwise democratic world was held to be irritating but not dangerous.

The Nazi revolution had sufficient points in common with Fascism for outsiders to argue by analogy from Italy and apply their slogans ready made. For the Left, here was another capitalist conspiracy, for the Right, another triumph of the forces of order. Today, some six years later, in spite of the revolutionary changes within the German revolution, changes which have drawn the Italian state into its orbit as the greater whirlpool absorbs the less, these two interpretations still dominate popular politics. Hitler may have broken the capitalists, abolished the profit system, turned Germany's vast industrial equipment into a state machine—yet for the Left his is still "government by and for armament monopolism". He may have tortured prisoners or killed them without trial, he may have violated everyone of Germany's international commitments, reduced the individual citizen to slavery, and even abolished the objective and eternal basis of law—yet for the Right his régime is still a "triumph of the forces of order". And not only are these views upheld, they are positively clung to with a religious and increasing fervour as each year removes them further from the facts.

For this is what has occurred. An explanation which loosely covered the first decade of Mussolini's revolution

and the first year of Hitler's throws little light on the position in either country in 1939. An entirely new analysis is needed and a new attempt must be made to wrest a meaning from the rising flood of Fascist revolution especially if we are to go on to the more delicate task of studying its position *vis-à-vis* the Church.

II

Revolutions occur when society loses faith in the dominant principles upon which its general philosophy has been based. This process is not necessarily a conscious one. With the intelligentsia it may take the form of a definite and reasoned revolt against the old order, but with the masses it usually consists of a growing consciousness of unrest and dissatisfaction merging later into anger and even despair. The role of the intellectual minority is to canalize the vague discontent of the majority and to produce a philosophy upon which a new social edifice can be built. By the end of the nineteenth century it had become fairly obvious that the existing order was nearing, if not collapse, at least a severe crisis. Its dominant faith had been that of material progress achieved through the free interplay of economic forces, its underlying assumption that complete freedom for the individual was the highest good for himself and in the long run for society too. Enlightened self-interest would promote completely harmonious relations between all men who, left to themselves, would know best where that interest lay. This ideal of a free and equal society moving forward to greater and greater material happiness was no more or less Utopian than any other, but possibly rather further removed from the facts. A few decades of it did, it is true, produce undreamed-of material progress, but in child labour and recurrent depressions, in subsistence wages and vile slums, the seeds of its destruction were sown, and within fifty years of Adam Smith an intellectual minority in the shape of the Communists and a sullen mass in the shape of the industrial proletariat had begun to undermine the basic

assumptions of the capitalist order. And for fifty years more, indeed until the Great War, revolution was only conceivable in terms of the Left.

The war and its aftermath showed the extent to which the old order had advanced towards ruin. It saw in Russia the successful conclusion of the first revolution of the Left. The stage was apparently set for Communism to sweep Europe, establish its new philosophy and build up a new society on that basis. Yet post-war Europe has seen the development of an exactly contrary process. Everywhere in the last twenty years the Communist tide has ebbed. New revolutionary possibilities are appearing, the so-called revolutions of the Right. Today, far from being heralds of a new order, prophets in their own right, the Communists are seeking alliance with other Left Wing forces (formerly despised) in a desperate attempt to build a common (or "popular") front against the danger of Fascism which they cannot meet alone. This is the revolutionary position we face today. How has it come about?

The failure of Marxism springs primarily from a flaw in the Marxian system. Marx was perfectly right when he pointed out that far from producing a just and prosperous society, capitalism depended on the exploitation of the many in the interests of a few and depended *necessarily* upon the exploitation, for since value—according to Marx—is only measured in labour, any profit going to the entrepreneur class must have been filched from the working man. However, the development of capitalism towards monopoly (which Marx justly foretold) would reduce the number of expropriators, and since monopolies—so argued Marx—limit production and raise prices, gradually there would stand facing a smaller and smaller group of capitalists a growing army of pauperized proletarians. Thus the task of the proletarian revolution—the expropriation of the expropriators—would easily be accomplished as soon as misery had driven the working classes to consciousness of the numerical weakness of their adversaries and of their own solidarity and power. The imaginative sweep of Marx's prophecy is terrific, but its bases were unsound.

Marx himself probably realized that labour as a source of value introduced the question of grades of work of different value, thus of different rates of pay within the proletariat itself. And this problem of salaried work of no uniform value constitutes the central problem (for Marxists) of the bourgeoisie. In reality, Marx's two classes, capitalists and proletarians, never faced each other across the labour market. They were the extremes of an infinitely graded scale passing down through managing directors, clerical staffs, foremen and skilled workers to the semi-unemployed casual labourer. And as industrial society developed, this scale became more and more intricate, the variations greater, the classes less and less distinguishable. By the turn of the century the word "bourgeoisie" was covering not a less but a greater and greater proportion of the population. Although the expropriators had increased in wealth, the "expropriated" too were getting a share and therefore had a real stake in a system which the growing misery prophesied for them was to have abolished. The proletariat was not revolutionary. That is the reef upon which Marxism foundered in the highly developed industrial West and, by a paradox when the revolution came, it came in pre-industrial Russia where the driving force was an agrarian rather than a proletarian revolution.

But Marx's error only invalidated his own solution of the capitalist dilemma (a solution, be it remarked, expressed entirely in economic terms. Marx's proletarian is as much an Economic Man as Adam Smith's enlightened entrepreneur). His criticism of a competitive system based on the profit motive, of long hours and bad pay, of financial despotism, of the fact of exploitation and class war, of imperialism and imperialist wars holds good and has been taken up again and again by other critics, not least by Leo XIII and Pius XI. Nor was Marx wrong when he prophesied the collapse of the system. His only failure was his failure to provide an alternative. Thus in the first ten years of the post-war world the Communists were in the paradoxical position of seeing all their gloomy predictions carried out and yet of being entirely unable to profit by the general collapse.

The post-war history of the Comintern is one of universal defeat. Even in Spain where pre-industrial and practically feudal conditions recalled the situation in the Russia of 1917, it was Anarchism, a local "uncorrupted" product, and not Communism that provided the spearhead of social revolution.

The results of Communism's failure in the post-war world were extraordinarily far-reaching. Marxists had conclusively proved the impossibility of the old order. Popular faith in it was thoroughly shaken. The masses were tending towards the psychosis of angry despair which usually creates a revolutionary situation. Yet the minority which should, in a new philosophy, have provided the positive content of the revolution, had failed. Apparently without knowing what kind of revolution would be produced Europe was moving to a stage of general collapse. The war, reparations, the inflation, the mounting toll of permanently unemployed, the tariff barriers, and finally the depression of 1929 with its accompanying train of vast unemployment, bankruptcy, crop destruction in the midst of starvation, crazy finance and incapable politics—all this catalogue of meaningless disaster set the world's reason rocking on its foundations. People were ready for anything, however irrational, provided it promised a way out.

III

It is against this background that the Fascist revolutions must be studied, the background of an old order collapsing without any apparent alternative to take its place. It is *only* against this background that some meaning can be read into the Fascists' failure to produce a positive philosophy, their colossal irrationality, their fantastic contradictions. For Fascism is exactly what one would expect to find when one society collapses without making place for something new. Fascism is revolution in a vacuum, a revolution without a creed and without a purpose, a revolution created by a really revolutionary situation but incapable of transforming it into a new

social order. It is true that some kind of philosophy has been pieced together after the event and hitched on to the revolutionary chariot. But Mussolini's Roman Empire and Ethical State, or Hitler's racialism and German paganism, are embellishments. They explain nothing. They are not a programme. They have no social content. They hardly figured at all in the pre-revolutionary propaganda. It is only when the essentially *negative* character of the Fascist revolution is realized that some kind of meaning can be wrested from it.

Both in Italy and Germany the revolutionary parties had no real programme. They were far stronger on the subject of those they were fighting than of what they were fighting for. This was more strongly brought out in 1932 than in 1922. The Nazis were anti-practically everything, anti-capitalist, anti-socialist, anti-Jewish, anti-trade unions, anti-atheist, anti-Christian, anti-pacifist, anti-war. Their promises were equally contradictory, for everybody was promised everything, whether he was worker or capitalist, soldier or civilian, cleric or layman. And since the masses had lost faith in a rational way out, and were now praying for a miracle (Townshendism, Douglas Credit, the Pyramids) to save them from chaos, the Fascist programme of unreason aroused immediate response.

Once the revolution had conquered the state the same negative characteristics were at first dominant. Most revolutionaries throw down the outer forms of the old order however unsuccessful they may be in changing its substance. But Fascism deliberately preserved the old façade—parliament, elections, Churches, capitalist enterprise, profits—even though they were soon to rob them of all significance. That again is what one would expect of revolutionaries who had no idea what they were going to do next. This fact also explains the entirely negative beginnings of the Fascist exercise of power in both Germany and Italy. Instead of the usual passionate fury of destruction and construction declining gradually to something very like the pre-revolutionary status quo, which has characterized revolutions in the past, the Fascist revolutions marked time—in Italy for a

decade, in Germany for over a year—and only then began to gather momentum and bear down like Juggernauts on the old order and crush it out of existence. Indeed it is extremely doubtful whether Mussolini had any real intention of making a revolution at all. He was a typical figure of Italian history, the brilliant and ambitious man with a passion for personal rule. He probably did not intend any drastic redrawing of Italian society, but he counted without the revolutionary ferment in the post-war world which came to a head in the economic crisis of 1929, a crisis which hit Italy harder than most countries. The really dynamic period in the Italian revolution begins after 1931 with the conflict with the previously reconciled Church (the reconciliation had been a conservative and statesmanlike move), with the promulgation at long last of the new syndical order, with the war in Abyssinia and the Spanish adventure, with the militarization of national life, the gradual passing of industry from private to state control and finally the absorption of Fascism into the more powerful Nazi revolution marked by the forging of the Axis, the introduction of racialism, new conflicts with the Church and, apparently, complete loss of freedom of action in foreign policy.

In Germany the first year was spent in crushing adversaries and playing about with schemes for unemployment: work camps, large-scale public works and other expedients already initiated by Bruening. But Hitler came to power in the depths of the depression. He had no ten years' grace and his revolution was forced into activity within a few months of his conquest of power. Yet in spite of a difference in timing, the two revolutions, once under way, have produced extraordinarily similar systems, a not altogether surprising consequence of two negative forces reacting to roughly the same revolutionary situation. They found an industrial society, based on economic values, in a state of deadlock, the masses in despairing search for a way out but refusing both the status quo of Capitalism or the alternative of Communism. The Fascists had no other system to offer so they took over industrial society as it was. But merely to continue the old order would have

lost them their power within a year. The masses had accepted Fascism because its leaders promised to do something—everything. Thus the revolutionary ferment outside the movement rather than revolutionary fervour within the ranks drove Fascism forward into a radical transformation of society.

The factor which had betrayed both capitalism and communism was their unquestioning acceptance of self-regulating economics. Economic self-interest in Capitalism, the economic dialectic in Communism had both failed to produce a tolerable society. The one ended in the deadlock of class war from which the other offered no way out. Therefore Fascism, though certainly by instinct rather than by plan, dropped the economics, and within the categories of the old system began to build up a new order based on *non-economic* values. There were still capitalists and still workers, but the distinctions between them were wiped out in the educational system, in the youth organizations, in the labour camps, in such institutions as *Kraft durch Freude* or the *Dopo Lavoro*, in the myriad state associations into which every citizen, male or female, came to be grouped. In industry itself class divisions were abolished partly by simply declaring them to be non-existent and partly by the search for a new co-operative ideal, the corporation in Italy, the Labour Front in Germany. But all these changes would have only been surface changes disguising an intractable economic basis had not the whole function of industry been swung round from production for wealth to production for power. Here the Fascists, without a faith and without a philosophy, with strong personal ambitions and few constructive aims, found a valid non-economic principle upon which to base their revolution, a principle, too, which was as irrational and violent as themselves. Thus the Fascists propose to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the old order and the failure of a new one to emerge, by power and organization for power. The nation is militarized, the demon of unemployment exorcized by rearmament, the economic machine transformed into a state armoury, war and expansion proclaimed the goal of Fascism's "permanent revolution".

Since naked power has no rational justification apart from specific ends, and these ends are lacking, the Fascist leaders attempt no justification of their programme, deny the need to rationalize their use and abuse of authority, indeed go further and deny the need for reason. Thinking must be done "with the blood", "Mussolini is always right". With these and other parrot-cries the inability of Fascism to justify its own revolution is covered by the denial that justification is necessary or indeed that anything ever *can* be justified. The two-thousand year attempt to base society upon reason and law is thrown overboard. Power and violence are restored to their pre-civilized status as ends in themselves.

IV

If this analysis of the Fascist revolutions has any validity it follows that the Church's position *vis-à-vis* Fascism is extremely difficult. Fascism in its glorious catalogue of condemnation attacks many things which the Church herself has long condemned. It attacks liberal-capitalism. So does the Church. It attacks mechanistic rationalism. So does the Church. Above all, it attacks Communism, and for years the Church has been mustering all her forces to rout this same adversary which, although it has failed in the social sphere, still offers to the individual a faith and world outlook antagonistic to the Church and in direct competition with her. And there are other difficulties. The positive content of the Fascist programme is negligible and the Church has no fine body of doctrine on which to concentrate her criticism, as is the case with Communism. Or again, once Fascism is in power, several factors complicate the Church's attitude towards it. First of all, its leaders now constitute the government. They have a claim to the things that are Caesar's at a time when the frontier line between God and Caesar is becoming more and more difficult to draw. To take another point, the tendency of Fascism to preserve the façade of society deceives "even the elect". It is difficult

to realize that profound changes are coming about when the House of Savoy still reigns in Italy or President von Hindenburg retains his office in the Reich. In the sphere of religion the avoidance of any frontal attack upon the Churches (for example, the continued payment of state subsidies and salaries), combined though it is with a thorough de-Christianization of youth, intensifies the difficulty of formulating and carrying through a defensive policy. In the sphere of industry the substitution of non-economic values has long been preached by the Church, and the negative nature of Fascism's early period in office left the Church in doubt as to what other values would be substituted long enough for her to hope that they might be her own. In the sphere of government the insistence upon order and authority, following on a period during which society tended towards anarchy, is quite enough to blind the less alert to the meaning attached by Fascism to these words. For "authority" has always meant the exact opposite of the Fascist conception of naked power. Authority for the Church implies the highest obligations on the part of rulers towards those they govern. It is the exercise of a function according to universally valid laws, whereas Fascism denies both the obligation and the law. Yet a confusion of meaning has vested the Fascist use of the word "authority" with a moral value which in their system it simply does not possess. Instances of this sort could be multiplied from every sphere of social life, but these are sufficient to illustrate the difficulties with which the Church is faced in confronting an adversary which, in so far as it is destructive, is destroying many common enemies, and which, in so far as it is constructive, is too vague to be squarely attacked yet sufficiently pliant to rouse hopes of compromise. The Church is in the position of a man struggling to come to grips with an enemy in a darkened arena and not altogether sure whether the enemy is not after all a friend. The danger is that by the time the light floods on and the Church finds herself confronting the hideous face of violence and unreason, of Eblis, god of lies himself, the hours of uncertainty and manœuvring may have sapped, if not

her will to fight, at least her powers of doing so effectively.

But, it will be protested, the Church *has* attacked Fascism. What of the Encyclical *Non Abbiamo Bisogno*? Or *Mit Brennender Sorge*? They both contain explicit condemnations of Fascism in Italy and Germany. Surely the Church cannot be accused of indecision, especially since the Italian Encyclical appeared as early as 1931. It is true that both these Encyclicals do contain explicit condemnations of the Fascist system, but certain reservations must be made. The reader may well be left with the impression that what is condemned explicitly belongs to a secondary order whereas the really fundamental dangers are only touched on implicitly or in parenthesis. They do not seem to have been placed at the very centre of the argument. For example, *Mit Brennender Sorge* condemns strongly the neo-paganism of Nazi Germany which "replaces a personal God with a weird impersonal Fate according to ancient pre-Christian German concepts"* and takes "the race or the people . . . out of the system of earthly valuation and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even of religious values",† but neo-paganism in Germany is only the amusement of the few. The real dangers surely lie deeper. Similarly the main pre-occupation of *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* is to defend the Catholic Associations of Italy, menaced with destruction (as they were in 1931) against the charge of being political and to protest against the sudden outbreak of anti-religious hooliganism which accompanied the government-inspired campaign against Catholic Action. It is only in subsidiary sections that a shaft of light is thrown on to some point at issue, and suddenly behind the formula of words the reader catches a glimpse of a dark void in which vague faces of unreason and violence are at their sinister work undermining the foundation of European civilization, for example when the Pope speaks of the Italian government monopolizing "the young, for the exclusive advantage of a party and of a régime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real pagan worship of the state no less in contrast with the

* *Mit Brennender Sorge*, § 11.

† *Ibid.*, § 12.

natural rights of the family than . . . with the supernatural rights of the Church"* or even more vividly when he condemns the Nazi principle "what helps the people, is right" and declares that "since it confuses considerations of utility with those of right, it mistakes the basic fact that man, as a person, possesses God-given rights, which must be preserved from all attacks aimed at denying, suppressing or disregarding them".† The Pope points out that to be perfectly accurate the principle must be reinterpreted and read "Never is anything useful if it is not at the same time morally good. And not because it is useful is it morally good, but because it is morally good, it is also useful."‡

In these two passages the Pope attacks what must surely be the most dangerous aspect of Fascism; on the one hand its worship of power unchecked by natural rights and obligations, on the other its denial of an objective order of universal or natural law underlying every system of social relationships, both of which, as we have seen, spring from the *essential* irrationality of a negative revolution which occupied but could not fill the void left by the collapse of the capitalist order. The Pope's reference to Cicero has more significance than a superficial reading suggests. In turning to the noblest thought of antiquity Pius XI testified to the continuity of the tradition which for the last two thousand years has been the basis of the European order, the wisdom of the Greeks supernaturalized by Divine Revelation. Even the Communists, though they reject Revelation, can still be met on the basis of common rational postulates. That is why it is possible to criticize them at all. But Fascism's peculiar danger and peculiar horror is that it breaks away from the European tradition, denies God, denies reason, denies law and magnifies the dark forces of unchecked power, irresponsible tyranny, irrational violence and inhuman brutality.

* *Non Abbiamo Bisogno*, p. 28

† *Mit Brennender Sorge*, § 35.

‡ Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii, 30.

V

It is always rash to talk of the "failure" of the Church. The grace of God working in and through her has such resources that the miracle of Good Friday, that of victory springing from utter defeat, has been the rule rather than the exception in her history. But, subject to the limitations of our human eyes and our human intelligence, we may tentatively suggest two spheres in which the Church, not as a divine institution but as a collection of fallible mortals, has so far seemed to fail. The first lies in a failure to formulate her attitude towards Fascism, for reasons which this article has attempted to set out. The second—which is far more serious—is in her failure to provide the world with an alternative to Fascism. Fascism triumphed because there was nothing to put in the place of the crumbling capitalist order. Yet the Church had been prophesying its collapse for over a hundred years. The irrational solution of Fascism was accepted because no one else advocated a *rational* way out of the deadlock in economic society. Yet the Church, in such men as De Bonald and de Maistre in France, Bishop Ketteler and Father Kolping in Germany, Baron von Vogelsang in Austria, Cardinal Manning in England and finally in the magnificent encyclicals of Leo XIII and later of Pius XI had been advocating just that very thing, a *rational* solution of the problem of industrial society by its re-incorporation into a Christian and therefore non-economic scale of values. The Fascist revolution came to power because the masses were too "bourgeois" to accept a really revolutionary alternative and were deceived by the Fascist façade into believing that it was not revolutionary. And this holds good of the mass of Catholics too. Now it follows that (as usual) the Church has not failed, for she both warned Europe of its danger and offered a way out. But Catholics have failed—miserably. If they had known *Rerum Novarum* as Communists know Marx, if their activities in the spiritual sphere had been as revolutionary as those of the Fascists in the material order, the masses in Europe would not

have been brought to the impasse where, every rational order having failed, they grasped at the solution of unreason. The pioneers in the sphere of Catholic social philosophy apparently laboured in vain. The leaven could not penetrate the inanimate, secularized, often over-prosperous lump. Yet even the failure of Catholics is not absolute, or rather it can be retrieved. The forces of unreason will continue to triumph only so long as no other alternative is set before society. Fascism, being the denial of everything in our civilization, is of its nature ephemeral, the crisis of a disease, the attack of folly, not a permanent state. But Europe is still looking for an alternative, and this fact, whether we find the consequence comfortable or not, places upon each Catholic an obligation of Christian renewal in every sphere of life, whether public or private, comparable only to the renewal of the Counter-Reformation, or, by the grace of God, to that of Pentecost itself, for "only in this way can it be proved to the present generation that the salt of the earth has not lost its savour, that the leaven of Christendom has not become stale, but is capable and ready to bring to the people of today, who are caught in doubt and error, in indifference and perplexity, in weariness in believing and in separation from God, the spiritual renewal and rejuvenation, of which they stand, whether they admit it or not, in greater need than ever before".*

BARBARA WARD.

* *Mit Brennender Sorge*, § 22.

EIGHT YEARS AFTER

Reflections on *Quadragesimo Anno*

I

THE general forms of a renovated social order as it is described in *Quadragesimo Anno* is now so well known that their description here is unnecessary. We know now roughly what we want and the type of society which the words "Guild Social Order" describe. What we are uncertain about is our chance of getting it. If they still seem remote, an inquiry might not be unprofitable as to what in the purely natural order is holding us back. Such an inquiry is here being attempted.

Fortunately for us the clear arrangement of the Encyclical makes such an analysis comparatively easy; for it lays down quite unequivocally that certain antecedent conditions must obtain before the order can be established. It leaves us in no sort of doubt as to what they are by showing us the results of their opposites in action. "While such conditions and such principles operate," is the clear implication, "producing such and such results, you cannot build the new order. While your soil is full of weeds you will get no harvest." Here then is our line of inquiry. Are the necessary antecedent conditions for the new order near to being attained? Is there any prospect of their attainment? Are we nearer or further from their attainment than when the Encyclical was published eight years ago?

What are these antecedent conditions? The Encyclical strikes the keynote in a quotation from *Rerum Novarum*, "If Society is to be healed now, it can in no way be healed save by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions." Let us observe that the reference is not only to a moral renovation of the individual but to the orientation of the whole social order towards specific Christian ends. The Encyclical complains that in point of fact that orientation has not taken place. "The conditions of social and economic life are such that vast multitudes of men can only with great difficulty pay attention to the one thing that is needful, their eternal

salvation." There you have the unchristian or anti-christian quality of the present order summarized.

The special consequence of original sin which has brought about these conditions may be described as greed of gain magnified by that very insecurity which it has itself helped to create and thus in turn augmenting the insecurity—a vicious circle. Insecurity reinforcing and reinforced by this lawless pressure is the distinguishing and damning mark of our present order: "Man's one solicitude is to obtain his daily bread in any way he can." While insecurity is prevalent, the predisposition for the building of Christian order is not present, and no order which tolerates insecurity can claim to be in essence Christian.

Here then is the first and principal problem. Is there in the purely natural order a solution? Unfortunately, to cure this disease far more is necessary than some purely mechanical adjustment; for that mechanical adjustment will neither be sufficiently far-reaching nor reliable unless it is preceded, if not by a change of heart, at any rate by a change of head, a change in values and a greater exactness of intellectual apprehension so that those revised values may be firmly and lastingly established.

This clarity of intellectual apprehension is necessary in one important particular. There is one dominating superstition which we have to discard; for by that superstition the greed of gain is justified. It may be defined as the superstition of price mechanism, a belief which is much more than an economic theory, since it has profound moral implications. For we still believe (at least most of us do) fanatically in certain nebulous entities called the laws of supply and demand, the effect of which (even apparently in circumstances of gross maldistribution and palpably imperfect competition) is supposed to secure the operation of the economic system at its optimum potential. *Why the particular set of satisfactions that are secured in this particular way are preferable to another set of satisfactions that might have been secured in some other way*, is never explained, but the fact remains that the thought of the mass of men still runs along these lines, and price (using this expression in

the fullest sense to include the rewards of capital and the conditions of its accessibility) is thus endowed with moral validity as an index of social worth. The ability to command price and thus make gains is thus its own justification, and profit becomes not only an end (which within limits is legitimate) but the delicate glass-encased regulator of the whole machine which we only touch at our peril.

There is, of course, no suggestion here of decrying the functions of profit either as an incentive or as an economic check (i.e. as a means of ensuring that the returns of any enterprise shall not be less than its costs). The fallacy lies in assuming it to be an index of absolute values indeed and in treating the price mechanism as a providential means of interpreting Divine intention. Such crude views are of course laughable to an economist, but their present force is enormous, and it is because of their prevalence that we allow gain to be enthroned as we do allow it to be enthroned, and while gain is thus enthroned, insecurity is and always will be inevitable.

The Encyclical is itself quite clear that reform must be preceded by a change of values. Monetary gain, the sanctification of which is the efficient cause of insecurity, must not be elevated, as it is at present, to the supreme and only effective dynamic in our affairs. A wholly different principle must be asserted by the State and find actual juridical expression in its institutions. This is evident from the passage which blames the State for failing to correct the visible abuses of an order informed by the principles which do today inform it. *Has the State corrected these abuses or is it correcting them?* This is the first concrete question that we have to ask.

II

The Encyclical instances several such abuses of which, apart from general insecurity, two seem particularly worthy of note—(1) the abuses wrought by unchecked speculation—(2) the abuses of the limited company system. Let us see how matters stand in this respect.

As far as unchecked speculation is concerned, no better instance of this could be found than in the recent case of a powerful financial practitioner who was sent to prison for publishing an incorrect prospectus. It was on this account that he suffered a term of imprisonment. In respect, however, of what was socially a far more damaging offence no penalty whatever was incurred. For this man had made a corner in an important commodity and severely disorganized the market, spreading ruin and insecurity throughout an entire industry. Under laws now unfortunately obsolete he would have been indicted for "forestalling". As it was, though his crime was known and I believe referred to in court, no charge was brought against him, nor did anybody suggest that such a charge could or should be brought—a clear instance of a moral-juridical breakdown.

The abuses of the limited company system continue and are tolerated. The Companies Act of 1929 introduced certain reforms which were little more than urgent matters of public order. It forbade bankrupts to become Company directors and made it difficult for promoters to print crude and palpable lies in their prospectuses. All these things did not, however, touch the essential moral weakness of the institution which arises from that same intellectual muddle that we noted at the beginning of this article.

Symptomatic of this confusion is the ill-defined, indeed the almost inexplicable, position of the shareholder, particularly, of course, the ordinary shareholder, which to a large extent is at the bottom of the whole thing. What is an ordinary shareholder? Legally he is an owner, economically he is a lender, and in actual fact he is Heaven alone knows what! If he is an owner, he disclaims in practice all the responsibilities of an owner. Yet as a lender he claims, nominally at least, certain powers of control which a mere lender does not usually enjoy. Personally, I think he might most aptly be described as a "muscler in". He is a man who has got to know where certain profits are being made and buys a right to participate in the hand-out. (Incidentally note how the analogy of the "venture" is steadily becom-

ing less applicable. The old scheme of things under which some ingenious person with a sure-fire way of making sunshine out of cucumbers went to the public through the press and collected their cash—all that has been pretty well dead since 1929.)

But after all, these profits have an origin and sometimes a pretty shady origin, yet where the origin is shady (and even where it is known to be shady) the shareholder incurs no odium, suffers no real penalty and, what is more important, does not usually consider himself to be individually blameworthy. What I have in mind and what is quite possibly one of the commonest forms of malpractice by limited companies, is the abuse and often the fraudulent abuse of credit. In the retail trade this thing is becoming a known scandal. I know of one department-store that must have ruined hundreds of small suppliers simply by refusing to pay their bills. In other words, this store has simply been making profits with other peoples' money. A private trader that acted like this would soon be ruined by the evil reputation he would acquire. Unfortunately, big and heavily capitalized concerns are in a different position. Owing to their importance, suppliers dare not incur their displeasure and will risk bankruptcy rather than do so. This form of blackmail is notorious, and the names of the firms practising it are known all over England, yet I have never heard of anybody being turned out of their clubs for holding shares in them.

Another instance of malpractice is bad wages, though, as I point out elsewhere, the question of the living wage is not the most acute industrial problem of the day. Nevertheless, many large and wealthy firms do pay abominable wages and are known to pay abominable wages. I have in mind one firm in particular which has been exposed time and again both in Parliament and in the Press (amongst others by myself). This firm makes profits equivalent to approximately three times its wages bill; yet it pays the bulk of its staff wages on which they cannot be expected to live. I repeat that these things are known, and that there cannot be any excuse for shareholders not knowing them, yet I have yet to hear of

anybody who on these grounds refused to acquire or hold shares in this concern.

Since this is the average attitude of shareholders, they can hardly complain if they receive equally casual treatment from those who are supposed to bear responsibilities towards themselves. It may indeed be said that in view of their attitude, shareholders richly deserve what they much too rarely receive from those who profess to look after their interests. The present manner of presenting company accounts conveys nothing whatever. Apart from the provision of a balance sheet, which as often as not is unintelligible, published accounts tell the shareholders nothing except the amount of the nett profit and the manner of its allocation. The identity of the people who have been pocketing his money, the nature of the services rendered in return, the salaries of managers and all the other payments concerning which a normal person might well show a disposition to be pressingly curious, these are matters of which either prudence or delicacy forbid disclosure. The whole business reached its culminating absurdity when the director of one of our great monopolies, reputed to be drawing between £40,000 and £80,000 a year in director's fees, declined when questioned by the shareholders to reveal the size of his actual emolument. When it is remembered that this man was supposed to be the shareholders' paid servant there is nothing more to be said. There are certain situations to which the satirical commentator cannot possibly do justice.

The remedy for these things lies in the hands of any government to apply whenever they feel so minded. There is no need to interfere with the limited liability system as such. All that is necessary is to thrust genuine responsibility on the shareholder, and punish him for neglecting it by mulcting him of his profits. In my respectful submission, it should be possible to arraign any company guilty of offences against a recognized code of fair trading before a special court and fine it. This fine should, however, not be a determinate amount, but a certain proportion of the nett profit. Further power should be given if necessary to block in any one year part

or whole of the dividend. This would prevent companies paying the fine out of their undistributed profits and bring the whole force of the penalties down on to the actual shareholders. It should certainly make the shareholders sit up and take notice.

In justice to the shareholders, they should be given far fuller information than at present they receive. I suggest that the following facts should certainly be made known to them :

- (1) The remuneration whether by salary or Commission of all directors and managers.
- (2) The total wages bill, and the rates of wages of different classes of employee.
- (3) The length of credit taken, i.e. the amount of time different portions of the liabilities to trade creditors have been outstanding.

Finally, a certificate should be given by the Board of Trade and/or the relevant Trade Union as to conditions of work.

None of the above suggestions postulate anything more than the ordinary decency and responsibility that one expects to show and receive in dealing with one's butcher or one's charwoman, nor do they assert anything more than the elementary rights claimed by any set of individuals who pool their cash for a Sunday outing and expect a correct statement of account. I can think of no reasons other than discreditable ones why they should not be introduced. The point to seize is that they are *not* introduced, and the reason for this (at least I know no other explanation) is the vague belief that profit somehow justifies itself, that the payment of dividends is sufficient *prima facie* evidence of useful service, a broadly just reward paid for the concern's performance by means of a providential, automatic mechanism. Thus injustices and malpractices when they are known are condoned as part of the working of a stern economic and even biological law which, however harshly it works, redounds ultimately to the common good. In these circumstances, too much inquiry or interference is obviously uncalled for. That, I think, is the kind of rickety intellectual bridge which unites men's consciences with their pockets.

Here then you have the vicious principle at work in the most important institution of contemporary economic life and if it operates there, it will operate everywhere else. As long as this is so there is no hope for us, for the evil fallacy twists and poisons everything.

III

One of the best-known passages dealing with what I have termed the "antecedent conditions" concerns the growth of that "despotic economic power" which has become such a favourite topic of the Catholic propagandist. The Encyclical inveighs against two aspects of this phenomenon, its actual magnitude and what is really a consequence of this, its arbitrary character. It is in this latter characteristic that it embodies the essential damning fault of the capitalist regime. That regime "is not vicious of its very nature, but it violates right order whenever capital so employs the working or wage-earning classes as to divert business and economic activity entirely to its own arbitrary will and advantage, without any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social character of economic life, social justice and the common good". Note here that the nature of the wage contract and the treatment of wage-earners is only one among a number of possible criticisms: it, as I hold, in England one of the least important. The crucial question is the lack of control over the employment and direction of capital, and clearly the greater the concentration of capital the more harm will be done by its ill-regulated use.

In this respect there are some faint grounds for satisfaction though not very many. We have become familiar of late with the notion of an Investment Board, and though it has remained nothing more than a subject for academic speculation, the fact that such a thing should be fairly widely debated is to some extent an index of change. But here too the obstinate superstition of the price mechanism holds us back. The bias in favour of the free play of economic forces is still enormous.

Apart from this the notion of an Investment Board

seems at present to imply little more than some control of the capital market ; it does not seem to be concerned with the creation of capital assets by the big companies out of their own funds. Yet these are among the chief sources of our trouble. The expansion of chain stores is a matter of which I have written with some vehemence from time to time, and as opinions are divided on this matter I certainly would not invoke the authority of the Encyclical to prove that this was necessarily wrong (though I myself think it is damnable). But the fact remains that these important changes in our economic structures are financed almost entirely out of the earnings of the companies concerned, and there is as yet little suggestion that this process should be interfered with.

The despotic economic domination already enormous in England at the time the Encyclical was written has grown perceptibly since then, nor do I think it correct to see in the much-quoted phrase "who because they hold and control money are able exclusively to govern credit and determine its allotment" an allusion to the banks alone. Rather is the corresponding reality that small rather closely knit oligarchy which has the banks at its core but its most important seats of power in the finance houses and insurance companies.* Money in the hands of these groups has become not so much an instrument of production as a raiding weapon, and since an enormous hold is maintained by these people over the distributive trades and most of the other lucrative forms of enterprise,

* There is not much point in naming names in this connection. But the reader, if he is sufficiently interested, can easily do that himself. Indeed, it is an agreeable and improving way of spending a rainy afternoon. All that is required is a *Stock Exchange Year Book* and a *Directory of Directors*, and, though the acquisition of these works involves some slight monetary outlay, such expense will be amply justified by the pleasure derived. The sedulous inquirer will then find that in the boardrooms of the insurance companies directors of our great banks sit in fraternal harmony with the directors of enterprises far less august than they would usually meddle with, for instance, the most flagrant types of catch-penny hire-purchase companies and with the organizers of itinerant ice-cream trade which has recently been subjected to rather severe criticism in the House of Commons. To those who assert that the fact of being co-directors of an insurance company does not imply community of interest outside it, I can only reply that if such meetings do not result in mutually advantageous bargains and gentlemen's agreements, then the gentlemen in question are made of sterner stuff than I am, and that if I were sitting on the same board as the director of one of the great banks I should certainly sooner or later turn such meetings to an excellent account.

they form a pool out of which the shillings and pence from almost every citizen's pocket flow in a huge and continuous tributary stream.

When I speak of money in the hands of these people being used as a raiding instrument I mean that since their over-riding and exclusive motive is speedy monetary gain, they are wholly careless of the fact that these gains are often made by the tender of purely notional increments of value (as in the case of most heavily advertised goods) and that they are offset largely by losses at other parts of the economic system. The inevitable concomitant of this activity is thus a succession of disorganizing and unstabilizing bankruptcies, losses of independence and depressions of the standard of living of the less fortunately placed, all of which must necessarily be taken into account if we are to get a true picture of the matter.

One of the most unfortunate results of this growth of despotic power is this: that the more capital is maldistributed, the more it seeks a purely tributary return and if possible a high and quick return. Capital thus concentrated tends to act as a disintegrating and unstabilizing factor. Because of this and also because it tends to employ resources for purposes that are socially wasteful it inevitably becomes the powerful generator of scarcity.

That scarcity is often disguised by what on the surface appears to be a high standard of living. The proletarian's ration becomes comparatively generous. But those same agencies that tend more and more to supply his needs display an almost diabolical genius in stimulating his wants. The result is inevitable. The proletarian cannot accumulate. He lives at short range. His servitude is unbroken, and despite radiograms and hire-purchased furniture, scarcity still remains his essential element. A recession finds him resourceless.

IV

And this brings me to the key passage of the Encyclical with which this whole question of artificial scarcity seems to me to be intimately connected. I speak, of course, of the

celebrated passage dealing with creation of the vocational group, and of that harmony between the ranks of society which it is to be both instrument and the expression. The conflict between labour and capital, the "class war", is thus to be resolved, nor, of course, can the vocational group come into being without such resolution.

Fortunately, the class conflict in Great Britain is a fairly negligible affair. Very considerable grounds for conflict exist, but that conflict, if it were to become a reality, would not be the class conflict in the approved orthodox sense—namely the struggle between employers and wage-earners for so-called "surplus value" (words which are really only a sort of don's shorthand for what the consumer can be constrained into disbursing). Employers and wage earners do intermittently engage in mild or acrimonious bickering for this, and most wage-earners share the common trait of ordinary humanity in wanting to have more money than they are actually being paid. But to pretend that a certain amount of fractious argy-bargy on this score is, in this country, the essential stuff of history is like saying that the backchat between the two robbers is the essential story of the Babes in the Wood. (The analogy of the two robbers is singularly apposite, as I shall show in a moment.)

The contrary fiction is nevertheless sedulously maintained not only by the Left but throughout the country. The co-operation between capital and labour—that is regarded as the essential industrial problem which forms the battlefield between the powers of light and darkness. The wicked angels are the hotheads, the extremists who hunger after strikes and sabotage and are driven by a passion to murder everybody in their beds, and I suppose the "intransigents" or die-hards" on the employers' side. Over against them are the moderates, the reasonable men who will talk things over and adopt a policy of fair give and take. With whichever the sympathy of any particular individual happens to lie, he always falls into the blunder of thinking that the quarrel which these two parties seek to accentuate or resolve is the essential point of tension.

Not only are these squabbles largely unimportant, they are largely non-existent. Though inexcusably bad wages

are still being paid by some firms, employers as a rule like to pay the best wages they can and pride themselves on the wages they pay, and the attitude of the average wage-earner in reasonably good employment to the shareholder seems in my experience to be one of affectionate tolerance. (Only 7½ on the ordinaries? Give the poor fish 10." That seems to be the general tone.)

There are, of course, enough dissatisfied and disgruntled wage-earners, but for every wage-earner that has a grudge against his employers there are a dozen who have a grudge against other things and other people lying outside the actual organization in which they work: their landlord, their bank manager, if they have one, the fellow who built their mortgaged house and so whimsically used unseasoned Russian timber for their window-frames. Above all, the grudge lies against any person or group who seems likely to endanger their jobs or to take the bread out of their mouths. They have a perpetual feeling that they are living on sufferance, and a somewhat wayward and incalculable sufferance at that. These matters and not the class conflict are the real issues for the average working man, and (with the exception of the Russian window-frames, which may be written down to pure original sin) all these problems arise from the scarcity system of which the arbitrary use of capital, despotic economic power, is the essential factor. Scarcity and despotic economic power, these two forces implement each other. Without scarcity, despotic power cannot exist, for given an abundance of means men would break it, and despotic power by its reckless and spasmodic use of resources breeds scarcity in its turn.

The class-war spirit and all institutions informed by that spirit are admirably designed to maintain this scarcity system. All that interrupts function strengthens that system. Above all, everything that distorts a clear intellectual apprehension of its reality strengthens it, and it is precisely in this manner that the current unrealistic analysis of economic affairs does tend to assist and strengthen it.

I hesitate to say anything against the Trade Union movement in view of the undeniable services that it has

rendered in the past, but it is really unfortunate that wherever it becomes vocal it does so along approved class conflict lines. The "exploitation of the workers", the wicked employers who make profits out of the labour of downtrodden wage-earners; if they make profits "out of" anybody they make them quite as much "out of" the poor consumer and the public generally—but it is useless nowadays to assume that anybody still grasps the concept of the just price—all the old clichés that have gone ringing down the century are still dished up, and hardly ever a word about the misuse of capital, hardly ever a word about that which is the mainspring of instability.

This, of course, suits the great company financiers admirably. The class war is an excellent smoke-screen as far as they are concerned. By all means let the noise of battle rage occasionally. It will serve to distract the public's attention. I do not, of course, say that there is any conscious plan in this. I merely say that if the great company financiers felt their position seriously threatened by the class-war doctrine, that doctrine and those who preach it would be rigorously suppressed, whereas the numerous organs that do preach it are not suppressed but on the contrary flourish exceedingly.

The point of these observations then is that the class-war feeling is something wholly alien to this country, that the frequent anger and embitterment of the people does not arise from this source but from the sense of insecurity and precarious dependence on forces they do not understand, from the sense of being trapped in a system which can offer no satisfying religious or philosophical justification of itself and so appears to them both mean and meaningless—which, of course, it is. Class war then, and class antagonism, do not in this country constitute a sufficiently formidable obstacle in themselves to make a Christian order difficult of attainment. The difficulty lies elsewhere.

v

As our final question we must ask: Is there any institution in contemporary English industrial life that

could conceivably form the framework of the vocational group of the Encyclical. Some Catholic writers have written as though the Trade Union might be some unexplained process become such a group. I can only say that I find it very hard to convince myself of this. The Trade Union is essentially a combative organization and its spirit and purpose seem to me utterly alien to what is here intended.

Far more promising from this point are those bodies which are regarded by some (and not altogether unreasonably) as the worst excrescences of the capitalistic order. I refer to the growing number of boards enjoying statutory powers, such as the newly created Cotton Industries Board, and their more embryonic counterparts such as the Steel Ring which have not yet attained full stature. The criticism levelled at these bodies is often all too justified. (In the case of steel, the accusation that it is a palpable conspiracy against the public is by no means easy to refute.) Nearly every one of these bodies is dominated by some great company which is using them to attain what is practically monopoly status. Finally, the representation of wage-earners' interests is so far negligible, though the new structure of the Cotton Industry does represent some very slight advance in this direction. Nevertheless with all these faults, these bodies are for the most part genuine associations of producers, and it needs but certain shifts of the centre of gravity within them to turn them into something that would find its functional place in a Christian Order. Their essential structure, within limits their purpose, is not at variance with it. To make my point clearer and to show that the actual structure of these bodies is of this particular kind, may I for a moment quote and examine the actual key passage concerned.

"True and genuine social order demands various members of society joined together by a common bond. Such a bond of union is provided . . . by the common efforts of employers and employees of one and the same group joining forces to produce goods or give service."

Now the operative words here are "joining forces", but the concept of joining forces appears to me to denote

a far more genuine fusion than is contained in the usual relation of capital and labour. Further, it is implicit in the notion that the production of goods shall be continuous and not merely spasmodic so that the common good may be served by an uninterrupted stream of valuable increment to its real wealth. The vocational group becomes a moral personality animated by a special kind of corporate intention which causes the purely individualistic use of capital to be abandoned and the aim of a stable useful production to be substituted in its place.

It seems to me that to achieve this end the vocational group must control a substantial proportion of the money savings of its members and possibly also by means of a turnover tax or tax on profits ensure that the requisite volume of savings is always available for it. I say that it must control the money savings of its members because if the industry is to be an organic whole, it has a claim to draw back into itself such part of its members' surplus power of demand as is necessary for its own continued well-being, and in this expression I include not only the continuance of its function but the moral and physical well-being of every person working within it.

To take first the problem of its own continued stable function. The most obvious use for the corporate savings of such a vocational group would be the financing of the purchase of producers' goods. This matter is, as everybody knows, at the very heart of the stability problem and has always cried out for some sort of social control. The group would be admirably suited to exercise this control after careful market surveys carried out in conjunction with other groups. Such an arrangement, which would be the first effective step in planning, would imply full individual ownership of actual assets but with a certain social control of the loan capital that helped to call them into being.

It may be remarked in passing that given the control of savings by the vocational group, that group becomes in this very business of planning one of the most perfect instruments yet devised. For not only can the group use its savings for productive purposes, it can also by its credit policy and by the granting of hire-purchase contracts

assist other groups in the sale of finished goods to its own members. It can further control consumer choice by using the ordinary legitimate technique of publicity which in its hands would be both cheap and, since it is made to operate "within the family", so to speak, doubly effective. The vocational group can thus, at any rate in the industrial field, be not only an association of producers, but an instrument providing what is practically a guaranteed market over a wide range of goods. Thus by means of bilateral and multilateral agreements a high degree of stability could be assured in the economic system, and this result would be achieved as a result of free contracts between autonomous personalities and entirely without the bureaucratic regimentation which makes us look askance at most schemes of planning.

This control of savings and credit that I am here outlining may appear to some a purely mechanical arrangement without moral significance. I do not think so. The motives at work in the act of giving credit determine more than any other the moral colouring of an order, and it is precisely the narrow individualistic motive in this act as it is at present performed that gives our own order its unsatisfactory character. If that motive were re-oriented, the corporate control of savings and credit would, I think, follow naturally, since this would be the best means of giving that motive expression.

In the light of these observations, let us see how far the new type of industrial group that is coming into being in England would already admit of the development thus outlined. In the first place though this new type of industrial group lacks so far any power of restraint worth talking about over the surpluses of its members, the thing is there in germ. It has considerable power of levying dues and it has (as in the case of the Cotton Industries Board) powers to borrow from the public. This last may ultimately enable it to dispose over considerable funds which might in due course come to be used more or less along the lines I have indicated. Further, these groups already have power to organize research and thus expend their resources in helping their members to improve the quality of their product both for their own advantage

and for the benefit of the community as a whole. There is here to my mind already the indication of a new motive in industrial affairs, the operation of which might extend considerably in the course of time.

Taking these factors into consideration, we may surely say that we have here at least the foundation of the thing that Pius XI was visualizing, and that these new bodies might without really changing their own essential character become the nuclei of the vigorous corporate life that he desired.

VI

To sum up. There are many, very many grounds for hope. The foundations for a Christian order are to some extent present. The most powerful factor working against it is the confused and fragmentary legacy of a set of theories that both from the point of view of morals and economic science are intellectually beneath contempt. We are still enchained by mental habit in this matter, but mental habits are capable of correction.

Tribute must be paid to the valuable educative work done in this department by the Left. The patient expository plodding by such writers as Mr. Cole and Mr. Douglas Jay has contributed enormously to the weakening of what I have called the superstition of the price mechanism, while even the cruder forms of deprecating the so-called "profit economy" on the part of the less erudite rank and file is not without its effect. Destroy this intellectual fallacy, which still underlies so many of our assumptions and is still embedded so deep in our laws, and you have gone a long way in preparing the ground for a Christian order. For the difficulties over here are of the head rather than the heart.

J. L. BENVENISTI.

LEO XIII—A MODERN HUMANIST

CATHOLICISM regards Leo XIII as one of its greatest Popes and diplomatists: not only Europe but also the Americas have borne witness to his clear and penetrating insight into the most tangled of political problems; the soundness with which he expounded Thomism is known to every theologian, while his studies in sociology are not less remarkable, nor is there any difference of opinion about his fine literary tastes.

It is under this last heading that this article treats of him and, more particularly, of his Latin poems. They are a mere handful, not more than sixty in number, but they have a sufficient charm to entitle the author to a place among the best of the humanists. They were written mostly when Leo was Archbishop of Perugia or in the time of his Pontificate, though he began to write verses at the age of twelve.

Perhaps the first pieces that impress the reader are the short poems addressed to his friends, wherein with incisive and epigrammatic phrases he continuously pours forth the sincerest love and admiration. Whether it be a name that he shares in common with a friend,¹ or a life spent for the benefit of mankind,² or a cruel misfortune that stirs his pity,³ he is always as direct and simple as a child. When he consoles a friend for some irreparable loss one feels that he is actually a sharer in his grief.

*Conjugis extincti crudeli funere, Elisa,
Vidimus in somno te immotam adstare sepulcro
Et siccis oculis premere altum corde dolorem :
Quin etiam cupidam, atque erecta fronte decoram
Quo mens, et veteris quo vis urgebat amoris
Vidimus obtutu tacito te quaerere coelum.⁴*

These poems he used to write both as a solace amidst his many grave perplexities and laborious undertakings, and as a means of showing his affectionate remembrance of those of his flock who were conspicuous for their zeal. Little interest indeed do we have in the particular excellencies which draw the attention of the poet; but we do admire in all of them his frankness and open-heartedness,

which makes him so particular in his admiration. And what is most striking in his pains to appreciate to the full and put in the clearest possible light his friends' best qualities is the fact that, from his earliest years at the Jesuit College in Rome to his last days in the chair of Peter, he had few who were his intellectual equals. His graceful phrases, rich with beautiful imagery and loving affection, are like so many flashes of light that reveal not only the many fine qualities thus illuminated, but also, and principally, the delicacy of the sentiments of the poet himself.

Deeper, though not less charming, are the poems that treat of the poet's own private life and feelings. In a little poem⁵ written at the age of twenty, about his ill-health, one may perhaps trace a certain artificiality in his attempts to allay his pain by devoting his attention to his Muse. But even here his characteristic aspiration towards another world of pure joys, of happiness, and of eternal peace, is conspicuous. And as the poet becomes more mature in his inspiration, as well as in his technique, the fullness of his expression is complete. In a moment of the utmost difficulty and distress he addresses his deceased sister whom he loved so dearly :

Heu mare sollicitum spumantibus aestuat undis :
 Nox heu nimbosum contegit atra polum.
 Quassatur ventis, pelago iactatur in alto,
 Et iam fracta ratis gurgitis ima petit.
 Horremus trepidi, quatit aeger anhelitus artus :
 Mors instat, iam iam nos vorat unda maris ;
 Flet genitor, resoluta comas loca quaestubus implet
 Coniux, cum natis anxius ipse gemens,
 "O soror, inclamo, portu iam tuta beato,
 Eia, adsis, nostras et miserata vices,
 Fluctibus in mediis affulge sidus amicum,
 Per vada, per syrtes, o bona tende manus.
 Ocius affer opem, pontique e gurgite raptos
 Inserere sidereis ipsa benigna plagis ;
 Detur ubi amplexus iterare, et nungere dextras,
 Aeternum detur solvere vota Deo !"⁶

The reader will note the richness of the poet's imagination, as well as the delicacy of his sentiments disguised

under a veil of allegory. But he should also note the rich power of expression and the vividness of this metaphorical scene.

Of the small town where he was born, Leo always had pleasant memories.⁷ As when at Rome, in the full bloom of youth, he was always eager to go to his rugged hills and join the hunting-parties which he enjoyed so much, mixing with the unlettered peasants to whom his youthful gay spirits endeared him, so, in later life, the cherished thought of his woodland countryside was balm to his tired mind. Colle Amico, Monte Capreo, the rose-carpeted Faggeto, Val Cisterna : each had a whole history of its own, and the poet may well repeat :

*Quam flore in primo felix, quam laeta Lepinis
Orta iugis, patrio sub lare, vita fuit !⁸*

But even when he uses more ordinary language, the sincerity with which he opens his whole heart is remarkable. It is a Pope who is writing, a Pope whom his contemporaries, irrespective of their creed or nationality, owned as one of the greatest men of his age. Yet the splendour of his high office fades away as the old man implores the Blessed Virgin to come to his aid, and displays with all the simplicity of a child the frailty and misery of his human clay. He feels that at any moment he may fall short of his high calling, and that without the aid of heaven he is helpless ; if he is to win, his is the part of the soldier and not of the general. But his confidence in his guide and protectress is inexhaustible, and the most human of all his poems⁹ closes with the sweetest touch of hope :

*Adsis, o mater, languiduloque seni
lumina fessa molliter ipsa tege,
et fugientem animam tu bona redde Deo.¹⁰*

This human touch occurs again and again in his poems ; and it is striking to note the perfect equilibrium of the consciousness of man's misery coping with the never-failing forces of adversity on the one hand, and on the other the radiant hope and firm conviction that help will come from above. In a short poem¹¹ written on the

death of his brother, he brings in the latter to warn himself against the difficulties which surround him. "I have happily arrived," he tells him, "but you are still encumbered by the immense responsibilities for which you will have to answer one day. The sea is stormy enough, and your boat is poor and frail: only through labour and pain can you hope to steer it to safety." But Leo replies with a noble firmness which is hard not to admire:

*Dum vivam, fessosque regat dum spiritus artus,
Incensa ex imo ducens suspiria corde,
Ploratu maculas delere enitar amaro.
At tu qui superum securis luce bearis,
Confectum aerumnis, devexa aetate labantem,
erige, et usque memor de coelo respice fratrem.
Quem turbo heu! dudum premit horridus, horrida dudum
fluctibus in mediis commota procella fatigat.*¹²

What characterizes this group of poems is the vagueness of the poet's expression. There is nothing specific or particular, but one gets the idea of a giant battling against the forces that continually seek to overwhelm him, and, through him, all that he represents. Anyone with any idea of the happenings of the twenty-five years of Leo's pontificate can read much into the poet's weary, though always hopeful lines. In the closing years of Pius IX all sorts of dismal forebodings were prophesied by the enemies of the Church. It was the diplomacy of Leo that succeeded in avoiding ruptures, in smoothing out difficulties, and in establishing good relations with almost all the Powers, but moments of difficulty and despondency had to be faced, and sometimes even failure. The Church was entering upon a new phase of its life with all the upheavals that this transition involved. It is by his efforts that he feels himself wearied out when, with a touching note, he turns to the Blessed Virgin he had invoked during a lifetime:

*Extremum radiat, pallenti involvitur umbra
Jam iam sol moriens; nox atra subit, Leo,
Atra tibi: arescunt venae, nec vividus humor
Perfluit; exhausto corpore vita perit.*

At anima anfangiens excussa libera vinclis
 Continuo aeternas ardet anghela plagas ;

Oh coelum attingam ! supremo munere detur
 Divino aeternum lumine et ore frui.
 Teque, o Virgo, frui ; matrem te parvulus infans
 Dilexi, flagrans in sene crevit amor.¹³

Last of all, we may take his philosophical and religious poems. When the poet looks back upon a career of almost unbroken success,¹⁴ that retrospect awakens no shadow of self-conceit, but simply the consciousness of something worthier and even materially better than all the honours that his rare gifts had brought him ; something that, after all, is the only thing worth while, the inward righteousness which alone can ensure peace of mind and heart. He realizes that what goes by the name of virtue is always the fruit of self-sacrifice :

non nisi sudatae debetur laurea fronti ;¹⁵

but still, even in these poems, there is something more than theological knowledge ; it is the real conviction of one who has been in touch with the stark realities of life.

Ordinarily, the poet is moderate in his tone, and this gives him the advantage of being able to elaborate his theme in detail. He well knows how sharp is the sting of remorse that follows close on the heels of one whose life is spent in evil-doing and self-indulgence ;¹⁶ and with equal acuteness he portrays the joys of the man who follows the straight path.¹⁷ But, at times, he uses stronger expressions, and whether he is paraphrasing a Christian principle¹⁸ or brooding over the beauty of some Gospel episode¹⁹ he always displays an unequalled perception of human nature. In two epigrams written to be inscribed upon a reliquary of St. John the Baptist,²⁰ the character of the saint could not be more virile. His home is the mountain, his garment the sheepskin, his food the locust and wild honey, his speech a warning, harsh to impenitent ears. In another poem, an elegy written on the text of Matthew iii,²¹ the majestic dignity of the Son of God is

contrasted with the humility of the penitent who humbly comes forward and insists that he should share in the cleansing waters of the Jordan.

In the longer hymns and odes inspired by the festivals of the Church he is seen at his finest. The *S. Herculanus* (1878), the *Ad Sanctum Felici Annum* (1892), the second hymn on *St. Constantius* (1878), all have historical themes of the times of the Roman persecutions, or of the invasions of the Goths. They are a succession of highly coloured scenes full of the tumult of battle, or the triumphs of martyrdom, with a continuous succession of images which hold the reader in suspense until the climax develops in each case to the final apotheosis. In one instance it is the rugged figure of Totila, whose fierceness is hardened by the rigours of his ice-bound Scythian home, contrasted with the heroic Herculan who, amidst the moaning and confusion of his distracted city, rallies the ranks against the heathen invader. In another, the heroic stand of St. Felician in the face of the threatening brutality of the Roman tyrants recalls to Leo's poetical imagination, by a contrary association of images, the splendours of his heavenly home which await the martyr. In yet another it is the chain that binds the saint to the Umbrian countryside where he had laboured and died that inspires the poet. The first hymn to St. Constantius is lyrical, and simple in its diction. It is a song of triumph, and reflects the happiness of the people's rejoicings, which stand out against the stormy background of winter. A touch of heavenly joy is diffused in the lines, and as the loftiness of the other hymns absorbs, as it were, all our attention, so, in this one, the crowd's ardent invocation appeals to our feelings.

The vision of the Holy Family finds expression in a series of three hymns²² which reflect the old mediaeval simplicity, freed from all the burdens of convention. The first is a tender invocation to the three holy personages, whom he has considered in the greatness of their prerogatives. The second is a series of pictures of the holy Infancy. With affectionate reverence he accosts the Child while he breathes quietly in his little bed; he follows him through the dangers of the flight into Egypt;

he sits with the Mother, admiring the healthy growing boy—the youth who toils and sweats, helping in the family workshop. The third is the expression of the joy that reigns in the Family where all is peace and harmony, where mutual love and help are the common ideal. Every word breathes kindness and gentleness; angels, noiselessly ministering, are more than a poetical link between the human tranquillity below and the eternal joys above.

Leo wrote these three hymns for the liturgy of the new feast in honour of the Holy Family, established by the Holy See in 1893. Two points in their moral are interesting, as they echo the Pope's intention in establishing the new feast, and reflect his Apostolic Letter written for the occasion.²³ In his letter, in which he shows the intimate connection between an improved condition of social life and the sanctity of the home, the Holy Father invites the working classes to regard the Holy Family, and consider therein the reasons why they should not grieve at their humble lot. He reminds the aristocracy and the wealthy that virtue, both in private and in social life, is to be preferred to riches. These two lessons are echoed in the closing invocation to the Holy Family in the second hymn :

O neque expertes operae et laboris
nec mali ignari, miseros invate
quos reluctantes per acuta rerum urget aegestas :
Demite hic factus quibus ampla splendet
faustitas, mentem date rebus aequam
quotquot implorat columen, benigno cernite voltu.²⁴

The ode *On the Conversion of the Franks* and the elegy *Help of Christians* (1899) should be considered together, not so much because they both celebrate the glories of Christendom, but more because they both seem to have been written in exceptionally happy moments of the poet's life. In the first one, Clovis, hard pressed in battle, vows that he will embrace Christianity if he is successful against his Teutonic enemies. The vow is granted, and he and his people are baptized. Here begins that age-long link between France and Catholicism that earned

for the former the title of Eldest Daughter of the Church. This remembrance makes the poet see in a vision the succession of triumphs through which the French nation has passed down through the ages in the name of Christ. Charlemagne twice crosses the Alps to succour the Roman Pontiff, Godfrey of Bouillon overruns the East, and plants his victorious banners on the towers of Jerusalem. Young Joan of Arc, armed with strength from above, overcomes the foreign invader :

O novum robur celebris puellae
 Castra perrumpens inimica ! Turpem
 Galliae cladem repulit Joanna
 Numine freta.²⁵

Resolute heroes fight to the death against the spread of heresy, and Calvinism is checked. The last stanzas are tinged by a shadow of preoccupation, but still, the ardent appeal to the French nation to continue to work out their future in the same Faith to which they owed their greatness is as hopeful as it well could be, and echoes the congratulatory letter which, on 28 October, 1896, the Pope, moved by the outpouring of religious zeal during the Jubilee which he had granted, wrote to Cardinal Langenieux, Archbishop of Rheims.

In the elegy *Help of Christians* the poet tells of the aid to the faithful of which the Blessed Virgin has always been prodigal, and puts before us two memorable events in the history of Christendom. First, it is the mission of Dominic de Gusman who, armed with the Holy Rosary which the Blessed Virgin had given him, intrepidly faces the Albigensian heresy, already deep-rooted in Southern France. The second is a highly coloured account of the destruction of the Ottoman fleets at Lepanto by the united Christian forces, who as the background, as it were, of their prowess and exertions, had all Christendom reciting the prayer to which Dominic had owed his triumphs.

These two poems have a striking resemblance in their inspiration to the historical odes of Carducci ; and when one thinks how this great poet, in spite of the novelty of his metre, held the day in Italy in the closing decades of the last century, it is not unreasonable to suppose that

Leo may have had his first idea from the national poems of *Rime e Ritmi* and *Odi Barbare*.

Particular interest have a group of four poems which almost share a common inspiration. The first two, an epigram on *Frustrata impiorum spe* (1885), and an elegy *Auspicatus Ecclesiae Triumphus* (1885), both speak for themselves. They describe the uselessness of the attacks of Peter's enemies, and sing the triumph of the Church. Every single word in them is a paean of victory, and each line tells a whole story of persecution and struggle, till a new light inundates the heavens, and peace, honour and virtue reign supreme :

Tunc veteres cecidere irae, tunc pugna quievit :
Iamque fera emollit pectora dulcis amor.²⁶

The other two, though equally inspired by the relations between Church and State at the time, reflect quite an opposite state of mind. In the *Praeludium nativitatis* (1901), Christmas looms bright as of yore, but it has no store of joy and peace for the poet. All around him he sees nothing but disorder and woe. Nations, forgetful of their history, defy all ideals of law and justice, partisans exert their utmost efforts to shed the blood of their opponents, and, in the wild frenzy of these blind passions, faith and honour are empty words. The poem is as dismal as can be : there is scarcely anything to be hoped for, and, overwhelmed by the weight of events, he turns with a long and touching prayer to the divine Infant who alone can find a way to compose worldly affairs in peace and brotherhood.

Akin to it in inspiration, though more majestic, is the *Carmen Saeculare*, written on the eve of the twentieth century. It is the fire and impetus of a soul that has lived a life of continual struggle that synthesizes all the multifarious passions and ideologies of the nineteenth century. The spirit of the age, largely materialistic in its philosophical, scientific and poetical outlook, is complete. "Others", says the poet, "may exalt the greatness that the century has seen" ; but he can only grieve under the cruel pressure of events. What meets his glance is the spoliation of what once was the glory of the Eternal City :

Quo cessit urbis, principis urbium,
in nullo impeditum servitio decus ?²⁷

The principles on which law and order had been based for two thousand years are being undermined in the new theories :

Vae segregatis Numine legibus !
Quae lex honesti, quae supereat fides ?
nutant, semel submota ab aris
atque ruunt labefacta iura.²⁸

Even science itself has lost its character :

Auditis ? effert impia conscius
insanientis grex sapientiae
brutaeque naturae supremum
nititur asseruisse numen.²⁹

But though he sees all too clearly the imminence of calamity, his courage is unshaken and, as ever, his trust in God is unabating. We, today, perhaps, know more than his contemporaries did of the efforts of Leo to bring to an honourable solution the so-called Roman Question, as well as of the Masonic influences then all dominant in Italy ; we can now more deeply appreciate the aged Pontiff's indignant cry :

Vae segregatis Numine legibus !

On the other hand, we can also justify more fully the absolute refusal of the poet to despair at what seemed to be the most hopeless of problems. The agonized cry for the regeneration of the intellectual view of the age is sublime :

Jesu, futuri temporis arbiter,
Surgentis aevi cursibus annue :
Virtute divina rebelles
Coge sequi meliora gentes.
Tu pacis almae semina provehe ;
Irae, tumultus, bellaque tristia
Tandem resident : improborum
In tenebrosa age regna fraudes.³⁰

When one has read Leo's poems, what strikes one most is perhaps the nobility of thought and sentiment which distinguishes all great minds. In one instance,³¹ it may be the magnanimity with which he urges a great but rather reserved man, Cardinal Massaia, to publish the memoirs of his thirty-five years mission in Ethiopia :

Quid, latent tua facta, rogas ! vulgare labores
pro sancta exhaustos religione iuvat.

Fare, age, gesta libens memori concede papyro
Et tua late hominum fama per ora volet.³²

In another³³ it is the yearning for the welfare of his native land :

Illustrat vetus illa Itales sapientia mentes :

O laeta Ausoniae bellus, o clara triumpho
et culta et patria religione potens !³⁴

In yet another³⁵ it is the joy in the delights of nature's beauties, when in delicate verses he describes the bubbling fountain air with which he had provided his country home. Elsewhere³⁶ it is the feeling for the high seriousness of poetry and the earnestness with which, in his *Arcadia* (1890), he insists on the training and culture of the mind.

This last poem deserves a particular mention. It is a classical poem *par excellence*. The poet had in his younger days joined the *Arcadia* at Rome ; and he writes an elegy to commemorate the second centenary of its foundation. He invites his colleagues to follow him up the slopes of Pindus and sing the praises of poetry. Apt is his definition of a poet :

Huc toto insignes qua patet orbe viros
Nescis qua laudis mentem dulcedine captos.³⁷

There is a fine description of the delights of nature by which poets are inspired ; but much better are the lines

to the Italian poets, who had helped to make *Arcadia* a reality. It is remarkable how, in contemporary literary criticism, nothing has been added to or altered from Leo's estimate of these poets, set out in a few lines. Metastasio, rich with the favour of the Muses, gladdens with melodious strains the imperial palaces of Vienna; the best lines are for Parini, the great poet-priest of Lombardy, who never disdained poverty as long as it was the only alternative to fraud or baseness:

Patria, magne senex, te Insubria vidit egentem,
vindex posteritas te super astra locat.³⁸

Not less elevated words await Alfieri, prince of Italian tragedians. But more than the particular excellence which had helped to make these poets conspicuous in their art, he sings the nobility of their mission itself:

Salvete, illustres animae, queis nobile in aevum
Et fato maius nomen Apollo debet;

Gloria non mendax: victricis praeconia frontis;
Magnus ab arcadico nomina partus honos.³⁹

His poetical aspirations are well worthy of his refined classicism:

Pulchrior oh tandem vigeat divina Poesis
ad decus et graiam redditam munditiam!⁴⁰

Two lines in this poem are very interesting inasmuch as they show the poet's attitude to the new metrical compositions introduced into Italian letters in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Carducci. In the previous century Italian men of letters had already made the experiment of using barbaric rhythms, but had utterly failed, and of all those who tried their hands afterwards only Carducci can be said to have achieved a real success. It is not the moment here to discuss this much-debated and debatable question, nor whether Carducci's success was due more to his rare knowledge of the beauties of the

Italian language, coupled with his unmistakable poetical genius, or to the intrinsic rhythm of the new metres themselves. But we do say, for the sake of Leo's lampoon that it was quite to be expected that the Italian sense of musical cadence embodied in the smooth rhythms of Petrarch, Ariosto and Monti could not but be jarred by the almost unnatural and certainly unexpected beats in the unrhymed new metres. And Leo's lines :

Oh tandem Ausonias misere devectus ad oras
fallax, barbaricus dispereat numerus !⁴¹

though debatable, do not surprise us.

In all Leo's poems the reader will find lines or expressions which reflect, in the great Pontiff, the man of letters and taste, the enthusiastic lover of whatever adorns humanity. The virtues of industry, frugality and prudence are as conspicuous in his verses as are his humour, his urbanity and penetration ; and while one can see that the poet fully understood the man of his own time, yet the mystical temper of his whole mind sets him in a place apart from his contemporaries. But, as far as one can give an opinion, I believe that the most prominent characteristic of his poetical genius is his unmistakable tendency to put himself forward as a real man—liable therefore to all the different moods of sorrow and joy, exposed to troubles of body and soul. One can see this in almost all his verses, whether he is teaching a youth how to rescue himself from an impure temptation,⁴² or seeks refuge in his faith, strengthening it with the Thomistic philosophy ;⁴³ when he recounts memories of his younger days,⁴⁴ or with Horatian urbanity jests about the dangers of gluttony ;⁴⁵ or, with most delicate expressions, he celebrates the achievements of modern science.⁴⁶ Even as late as 1897 the aged Pontiff's heart could still enter into the musings of youth, and the charming epithalamium *Ob nuptias Alphonsi Sterbini et Juliae Pizzirani* (1897) shows clearly how his sympathy with life had only grown stronger with age.⁴⁷

As far as verse technique goes, Leo's poetry follows to a great degree the classical masters, though it is wholly modern in inspiration. The humanists of the fifteenth

century tried to live the Greco-Roman life in their own time, with disastrous results in many cases; Leo may easily pass for an anachronism of the Augustan age. One must admire the dexterous use of words, the tact with which he perpetually poises and balances words and phrases. With an excellent knowledge of the Latin tongue at his command, he measures his epithets, studiously balances the effect of his epigrammatic phrases, and yet all this is achieved with a studious simplicity. One can indeed see some explanation in the evidence of those attached to his immediate household, who have often attested that the aged Pontiff, even in his ninety-second year, would frequently get out of bed at night and sit at his desk, for study was simply a passionate delight to him. Of course one must not imagine that Leo spent long periods on his verses; but rather one should think of him as the enthusiast for Latin culture and literature, who in his long and glorious career, busied with the innumerable duties of the day, finds comfort and stimulation in classical poetry, and a solace from his daily fatigues. Indeed, poetry had been his favourite pastime as far back as his schooldays, when he used to write to his parents in verse and compliment his masters in Latin stanzas.

We are told that his favourite authors were Virgil and Horace. And, indeed, while from the latter he inherits his gracious humour and urbanity, the elevated conception of his poetry, its selection and division of ideas, its perfect ease of expression, the gentle and majestic movement of its periods, is wholly Virgilian. He uses a large variety of metres. The most frequent is the elegiac couplet, and it well reflects the stately tone of most of the poems. But lighter moods call for lighter metres, and in his hymns, where fiery enthusiasm inspires every word and expression, he uses the four-line iambic dimeter. One may here note a departure from the classical writers inasmuch as they only use the iambic metre together with longer metres in the same stanza, mostly alternately with the iambic trimeter or with the dactylic hexameter.⁴⁸ It was only from Seneca onwards, and especially in Christian hymnology, that it was used by itself. Still,

this does not impair in any way the poetical value of the compositions themselves. The Sapphic stanza, whose calm and steady measure suggests gentle and tender feelings, well suits the delicate intimacy of the home of the Holy Family, as it is treated in the second hymn on that subject. In the grander and loftier conceptions, the ode *On the Conversion of the Franks* and the historical *Hymn on St. Constantius*, Leo uses also the Sapphic, when one would expect the Alcaic stanza. Still, a large number of the twenty-six poetical compositions in which Horace uses the Sapphic are by no means less lofty in inspiration than those in which he uses the Alcaic strophe. This Alcaic strophe, Horace's favourite stanza, with its elaborate cadences, echoes to the full the impetus and energy of the *Hymn to St. Felician* and still more of the *Carmen Saeculare*, in both of which it is used. In the epistle *Tenui Victu*, where Leo is obviously imitating Horace, he follows his original also in the continued hexameter. Hendecasyllables and pentameters are also used, especially when the motive is mostly narrative.

The contemporaries of Leo had a great regard for his verses, and when Cavallotti translated one of his poems⁴⁹ into Italian all the newspapers were full of it, even at a time when anticlericalism was rampant in Italy. As his poems appeared from time to time, they found ready translators into the principal languages of Europe,⁵⁰ Andrew Lang and Francis Thompson figuring among the many English translators. Of the *Carmen Saeculare*, Pustet issued a collection of translations in twelve different languages of continental Europe. But, even if the judgement of contemporaries is not always the surest, we, the "nati natorum", look still with admiration on Leo's poems.

EDWARD COLEIRO.

¹ *Ad Vincentium Pavani* (1822).

² *Ad Nicolaum Pompilium* (1864).

³ *In Mariam Elisam Bernizzo* (1864).

⁴ In dreams, o Elisa, I saw you motionless standing by the tomb of your husband, of whom you had been bereft by a cruel death, and, tearless, holding down your mounting sorrow. Enkindled by the ancient fire of love, you raised your noble brow to heaven, and sought him there.

⁵ *De invaletudine sua* (1830).

* The troubled waves rage with foaming crests; the tempest-laden clouds cover the sombre skies, the shattered vessel, shaken by the winds and tossed by the high seas, is sinking. We shudder with fright, and a tremor as of death shakes our limbs: doom awaits us in the billows that threaten to overwhelm our ship. My father weeps, my wife, with hair dishevelled, fills the air with weeping; full of anxiety, together with my young ones I cry: "Help, sister, from your harbour of safety have pity on our misfortune, and shine, a guiding star, through the storm; guide us through the shoals and reefs; haste to our rescue; snatch us from the doom of the sea, and lead us to the heavenly joys, where we may meet and embrace one another, and praise the Lord for ever.

⁷ *Ad Josephum Fratrem* (1877).

* Oh, for the happy days, when, in our youthful years, we roved over the rugged countryside of our home!

⁸ *Ad Beatam Virginem Mariam* (1886).

¹⁰ O mother, be thou my help in my feeble old age; gently close my age-wearied eyes; and graciously lead my fleeting soul to God.

¹¹ *In obitu Josephi Pecci* (1890).

¹² While I am still alive, while the spirit moves my weary limbs, shall I with sighs from my inmost heart, and with bitter tears, strive to undo my wrongs? But thou, secure and happy with the light of heaven, and your brother, broken with cares and bowed with years; and be ever mindful of him, so long, alas! tossed about by tempests, so long wearied with storm and stress, and battling waves.

¹³ The declining sun already sends forth his last rays, and begins to fade away in darkness; your dark night is approaching, O Leo: your veins are congealed, and the blood of life flows through them no more: life itself is leaving your exhausted body. But the fleeting soul, shaking off all earthly bonds, longs to plunge into the heavenly deep. Oh, that I may delight everlastingly in the greatest of gifts, the sight and vision of God in the company of you, O Blessed Virgin, whom I loved as a mother in my childhood, and for whom my affection has grown deeper and stronger with years.

¹⁴ *Ad Josephum Fratrem*, l.c.

¹⁵ To sweating brows alone is laurel due.

¹⁶ *In Ps. XIII: Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum* (1887).

¹⁷ *In Eccles. XXXVI, 10: Qui timuit Dominum, etc.*

¹⁸ *Damnatorum ad Inferos Vox* (1870).

¹⁹ *In Jesum Christum* (1887).

²⁰ *Sanctus Joannes Baptista, and Idem argumentum*; both 1886.

²¹ *In Jesum Christum*, already quoted.

²² *In Sacram Familiam hymni* (1892).

²³ Oct. 28, 1896.

²⁴ You, who have known the hardships of labour and toil, you, who suffered much, have pity upon those whom penury oppressively burdens. Curb the haughtiness and splendour of great wealth, give fair limits to prosperity, and readily grant to me this prayer.

²⁵ And the girl Joan, whose steady hand broke through and scattered the hostile camp, and, strong in the might of God, saved Gaul from disaster and shame.

²⁶ The age-long hatred has subsided, the battle has died down; and now, sweet love softens the wild and cruel hearts.

²⁷ Where is the glory of Rome, the first among all cities, the glory that no shame did ever mar?

²⁸ Woe to godless laws! What honest laws remain, what faith, what truth? Justice and right, indeed, once they are estranged from God, totter and collapse.

²⁹ Hark! how the impious herd of sages raves in its pretended wisdom, and tries to assert, as a god, nature's soulless clod.

³⁰ Jesus, thou who shalt judge all future ages, guide the rising generations; with the powerful force of thy will compel the rebellious nations to

follow better paths. Scatter the seeds of bounteous peace; let anger, tumult and disastrous wars die down: drive away to dark abodes the guiles of the impious and profane.

³¹ *Ad Gulielmum Massaia*.

³² What! You ask that your works be hid! Ah, but the world should know of the deeds performed in behalf of the Faith. . . . Come, speak, commend your deeds to the unforgetful page, and let your fame spread wide among men.

³³ *Auspiciatus Ecclesiae triumphus*, already quoted.

³⁴ May the old wisdom shine forth once more in Italy. . . . Oh, happy land of Ausonia, O fatherland famed for your triumphs, great in art and faith!

³⁵ *Fons loquitur* (1868), and *In Parte Oppidi superiore* (about 1888).

³⁶ *Ad sodales Arcadicos* (1890).

³⁷ Here came the illustrious men from all parts of the earth, led by a sweet desire of praise.

³⁸ Your Insubrian fatherland, O illustrious old man, saw your need: now, avenging posterity has extolled you to the stars.

³⁹ Hail, splendid bards, to whom Apollo granted a name illustrious throughout all the ages, a name that no hostile fate can ever eclipse . . . a true honour, the reward of victory, the glory born of the Arcadian name!

⁴⁰ Oh, may the delights of divine Poetry increase, decked once more with the nobility and elegance of Hellas!

⁴¹ May the barbaric rhythms, unluckily brought to the Ausonian shores, utterly perish.

⁴² *Ad Florum* (1884).

⁴³ *In Ps. XIII* and *Eccles. xxxvi*, 10, already quoted.

⁴⁴ *Ad Josephum Fratrem*, already quoted.

⁴⁵ *Tenui victu contentus ingluviem fuge* (1897).

⁴⁶ *Ars photographica* (1868).

⁴⁷ Cf. Introduction to *Le poesie latine di Papa Leone XIII.*, Casa Editrice Sonzogno, Milano.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hor., *Epod.*, 1; *Epod.*, 15.

⁴⁹ *Ad Aloisium Rotelli*.

⁵⁰ In the British Museum there is a large number of these translations, some complete, some partial: two in English, two in French, six in Italian, one in German, one in Spanish, one in Portuguese, one in Dutch, and one in Greek. The collection, text and translation, published by H. T. Henry, Dolphin Press, New York and Philadelphia, 1902, deserves a special mention, not so much for the translations, which in most cases are very free, as for the completeness of the collection itself, and for the excellent notes which follow.

BEAUTY AND THE IDEA OF GOD

AN IMAGINARY CONVERSATION WITH FÉNÉLON
AT CAMBRAI

FÉNÉLON .. *archbishop of Cambrai.*
AN ABBÉ .. *his chaplain.*
DAMIS .. *a servant.*

- F. Sit down here then, my friend, where the ground is soft and where we can see the trout gleaming in the stream. This willow will shade us ; Damis shall light a little fire to drive away from us the flies, and we can pursue our discussion of Beauty to the sound of the brook—and with the spires of our cathedral still in sight, beyond the forest.
- A. Excellent, I said, your lordship is always clever at finding pleasant places for our conversations.
- F. But come, what was it we were saying ? Did not you own that Beauty seemed a mystery to you, since people's idea of the beautiful varied so ?
- A. Yes. How can one make Beauty an absolute thing, and one of the faces of God, if there are a hundred things which appear beautiful to me, and yet not beautiful to others. And if each age changes in its notion of what is beautiful ? Nay, I dare say that there is scarce an object called "of beauty" which can claim to have appeared such to all. And an absolute must surely be that which all recognize as being what it pretends to be.
- F. I doubt that last remark. For it is possible for people to deny the true ; or to refuse to see what is justice ; yet truth and justice, I think, remain unharmed. Yet, I own to you that the first part of your statement seems true enough.
- A. Yes, I said, I refuse to talk of Beauty apart from beautiful things. *Beauty is a word which signifies the quality or nature of beautiful things.* Beauty is that attribute which possessed by certain things or persons gives them a certain attraction.
- F. Well, he said ?

- A. Well, we should like—should we not?—to say that there is such a thing as Absolute Beauty, a kind of reservoir of beautiful attributes, which can pour forth a perpetual stream of beautifulness upon various objects, but yet which is in itself, also, a beautiful, nay *the* beautiful, object; a fountain of beauty; as it were, an adjective which has become self-multiplied into a substantive—depending on no other thing, or substance, than itself: A *massa pulchri*; just as one might have a mass of red paint so thickly pounded into a substance as to be in itself a little mountain of red paint, although, unlike meaner and more ordinary manifestations of the same colour, it were not painted on any paper or canvas or cloth, or picture. For one can have red paint apart from a red painting.
- F. I see, he said; and you would say that one cannot have beauty apart from a beautiful thing.
- A. Alas! that is certainly what I fear. For there is no doubt about what is red. And therefore if 50 people combined to make a mountain of redness, by each scraping off what he thought was red from some picture or tapestry, or piece of furniture, or holy image, the result would not be doubtful. We should have a *massa rubri*—a little mountain of redness!
- F. Yes, I think so. They would all agree that the same sort of colour was red: just as these flies and moths here seem to agree that Damis's smoke is horrid: for look how they flutter off and skim away across the stream! But what next?
- A. Well, let us apply the same process to the beautiful. We should get no such harmonious results. For suppose twenty people at random in your diocese were to be asked to name something beautiful: and we were then to combine them. Should we have an harmonious whole—for I think we must own that our ideal Beauty must be harmonious—nay, should we have even a whole at all? Is it not likely that their various beautifuls would, as one says of colours, swear at each other, and even very probably eliminate each other by their contradictions? To take one example only: Monsieur Tourville would doubtless quote the

qualities of the new town hall by Mansard, in the severe classical style, as being able to make a contribution of beauty to our intended *massa pulchri*; and I should agree: but foolish old Madame Duchesne says that nothing can wean her from the abominable Gothic: and she likes the façade of St. Etienne, built, as you know, about 1350, so much that she would doubtless quote that as capable of supplying a particle to our great *massa*. Yet these two together could never co-exist, at any rate in the minds of the persons I have mentioned, as parts of a harmonious whole, or *one*, of Beauty!

F. Yes; I agree. And if we get such contradictions and a hundred more are possible, at one time and in one age, what shall we say of the combined contradictions of successive eras? For doubtless both Julius Caesar and M. de Louvois, or that wily serpent M. de Meaux,* would agree with each other, and, say, St. Anselm, or Pope Pius II, as to what was red; but would they agree as to what was beautiful? Nay, to some, rocks and mountains, they say, appear transcendently grand, whereas others shudder at them, as being desolate places only fit for devils. Yes: one must grant you so much. An absolute Beauty, accepting your definition of it, must seem almost impossible to conceive. But yet, I do not think that we must give up the quest of finding Beauty and of trying to show it to be one of the great, essential, constituent parts of our idea of God; as I shall show in a moment.

A. But alas, reverend father, another doubt now oppresses me! If what we say of Beauty, considered as we have considered it, be true: does not the arrow that we have sharpened glance off, and kill morality also?

F. Ah, no! And here you are getting near an important point. No, he continued, for though the conception of what is right may vary at different times, yet people always acknowledge that right exists beyond and behind their conception of how to follow the right. Right is independent of the senses or the actions of

* Fénelon's rival in controversy: the famous Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux.

men. It exists in their minds as a principle of action : as an *ἐνεργεία*—as an activity. It exists in persons, not in things. In the interior of man, not in the exterior, or in that which appeals only to the senses.

- A. Yes ; I see. One can *do* right : but one cannot *do* Beauty ! Righteousness expresses a frame of mind which can enfold, envelop, and apply itself to various outward things and persons ; and can also respond to, and react upon, them. But Beauty is a purely passive attribute of things and persons, and does not respond to, or react upon, them. It merely *is* ; or seems to be ; and one responds to *it*. Righteousness is in the seer, and in the actor : Beauty is only in the seen, and in the acted upon. And as we have said already, Beauty depends upon outward objects, and upon the senses for its existence. But rightness does not. Nay, rightness—or goodness, if you prefer to call it that—may be felt and perceived even apart from action itself, upon which it might seem to depend. For we can perceive and feel that a person is a good man, though he never leave his chair, or even speak at all about his doings. But we cannot perceive or feel that a person or thing is beautiful unless we see, or hear, that person or thing. Am I right in what I say ?
- F. Yes. That is the distinction which one would make if one had really decided that Beauty was what you said. And we certainly agree, I think, upon the nature of right. But I think that I can save Beauty too from that arrow of yours.
- A. I shall be delighted to have missed the mark, in such a case. But how will you get me out of my difficulty ?
- F. I think you erred in your definition of Beauty ; or rather, did not go into the question deeply enough. For I consider that Beauty is in its origin a principle of action, an *ἐνεργεία*, an activity, too. Or to be more precise, let me say that what we call Beauty is an appearance or outward sign of an activity or principle of action : just as a smile is an appearance, or outward sign, of pleasure ; and a frown an outward sign of displeasure.

A. You mean that in a beautiful thing we see the smile of God; and in a very beautiful thing his laughter—"that highest laughter that is the expression of pure joy".

F. Yes, I think so.

A. But tell me, do you think that the ultimate—that God—is like mortals, sometimes happier than at other times, since He would seem to have "rung the changes" as it were, on happiness, greater happiness, very great happiness, etc.—by making in the world fair things and fairer things and very fair things—expressions, on your showing, of His smiles, laughter, and loud laughter? Is He then changeful, liable to moods? And what do the drab things, and the ugly, represent? Are they His sighs, His frowns, His expressions of ennui and of despair? This puzzles me.

F. Ah! I can, I think, explain all that to you, too, quite easily: though it is, indeed, at first sight certainly a difficulty. But may we leave it on one side for a moment, do you think? For we should really try to settle that other question first, with which we started—and to see if we can still regard Beauty as being one of the great essential constituent parts of our idea of God—even though different people think different things beautiful. Let us leave the "mood problem", then—as I should like to call your last point—on one side, for the moment. But remember, if we have time, before the bells ring for vespers, to come back to it. Do you agree?

A. Certainly. And if I am not mistaken, you had already said that what we call Beauty is to be considered as the expression of an activity.

F. Yes.

A. And an activity which we might call, perhaps, the joy or happiness of God, or of the Absolute One.

F. That is so, yes.

A. Well, so far so good. But I do not see that you have got us any further than I did. Your Roland does not seem to me to be a stouter fellow than my Oliver! For instance: I may see a tree which I think is so beautiful that it must be an expression of the direct

happiness of God : or a picture that I think is so beautiful that it must be an expression of the happiness of God mediated to us through the powers of an artist : but someone else may think both the tree and the picture ugly. Nay, fifty, five hundred or five million people may think both the tree and the picture ugly. Will they then be expressions of God's happiness still ? Or what shall we think ? For such differences of opinion must be numberless, in the world ?

F. Let me ask you a question, he said. Do you know Monsieur Hyacinthe—as he is termed by his friends—or rather—as we should more properly call him—Monsieur le Comte Hyacinthe de Beauricourt ?

A. Yes, of course.

F. And you are aware how excellent a man he is, and what a favourite with everybody ?

A. Certainly.

F. Well, I wonder if you have ever considered what a number of very different people admire him, and how strange it is that he should appeal to so many kinds of persons. For the young men like him—do they not—although he himself is now quite an old fellow ?

A. Yes, I have noticed that. They like him because he is such an expert in fencing, and in the history and theory of that art. Nay—even apparently empty-headed youths who appear to have no other virtue save only that one of being able to fence well, and who seem to be incapable of appreciating most kinds of excellence, yet appreciate and like Monsieur Hyacinthe, since through that channel of his being an excellent fencer he has been able to reach their hearts.

F. You are right, he said. And I think you will own that that power of fencing of his has become in the course of his intercourse with them the means of showing to them that there is to be found also in him a general excellence of character, of powers and attainments ; so that through one manifestation only, of what one may perhaps call the wholesome activity of the whole man, they have been brought into contact with the

general mass of all those good activities that make up his excellent character.

A. Yes. It is even as you say. His activity in fencing has been to them like the herald or usher who introduces one into a great chamber, where many other people besides the herald are assembled to greet you ; or it has been like sparks from a fire which, leaping up into the chimney have, in passing up, shone for a moment, through the window, in the eyes of people outside the house ; while those looking from some way off have not known that there was a fire lit inside the house until they have caught sight of the flying sparks, which have attracted them and drawn them in, from the snow, into the warm room !

F. Your simile is a just one. And we might also compare it to a smile of one whose face has looked perhaps a little forbidding and lofty, without just that softening of the features, which has meant so much ! Fencing is the smile that Monsieur Hyacinthe gives to the young men of the diocese : to the *jeunesse dorée*.

A. You are right certainly.

F. Well, now that we have grown quite poetical upon that point, let us turn our attention to another quickly ; for we must not get drowned in our own rhetoric ! Tell me, now, what does Mademoiselle Jacqueline-Christine-Marie de Trémouille de la Tour d'Auvergne—the elder one I mean—the sister of the Canon, not his niece, what does she, the most majestic spinster of our episcopal city, think of Monsieur Hyacinthe ? She is a terrific personage, you know : I heard our Vicar-general the other day describe her as "*cette survivante solennelle de la Fronde*" :*—a very good description, I thought it : I am terrified of her ; but is it not true that she has quite a passion for our little count, and is always trying to arrange interviews with him ?

A. Yes, I hear it is so.

F. And yet it is not skill in fencing that attracts her.

A. Certainly not. She detests that art. Ever since her brother was killed in a duel with the Duc de Beaufort

* The name of the civil war in the period just before that of our scene.

in 1649 she has regarded every kind of fencing as hideous, barbarous and monstrous. She cannot abide the sight of a bare blade.

- F. But she is devoted to M. Hyacinthe, and as we were saying, it is just his skill in fencing that recommends him to many of his admirers.
- A. Ah ! but she likes him because of his music : and because she says he has a fine aristocratic face ! His nose, which some think too big, she declares is Grecian : and she is convinced that she can trace in his features some sort of genealogical connection with the Byzantine emperors—the Palaeologi, I think she told me.
- F. His powers with the lute, then, and his large nose were the heralds, or ushers, that brought this lady into the palace of his personality ; and led her to appreciate the real essence of the man, the active goodness of his nature ?
- A. Yes. His renderings of the airs and sarabandes of Lulli and his unconscious presentation of a striking profile were, or are, the smile of Monsieur Hyacinthe to Mademoiselle Jacqueline Christine-Marie de Trémouille de la Tour d'Auvergne.
- F. But what of Madame la Marquise du Pont-Levis, who once said that our Hyacinthe's nose was in every respect like a large carrot save that its colour was of a purply crimson, rather than of a yellowy red : and who, also, is as much opposed to fencing as is Mademoiselle de Trémouille de la Tour d'Auvergne ; because she thinks that it is unworthy of the age of Boileau, of la Fontaine, and of Racine ; for she is, as you know, a blue-stocking ; and so fond of "precious" phrases as to have once apostrophized a glass of water, as "*un bain intérieur*" ! What of her ? Does not she now declare that our little old count is "the partner of her soul's aloneness", the "stem of her beauty's blossom", "the dictionary of her heart's eloquence", "the spider of her life's web", her "*animæ comes, sociusque dulcis*" ; in short, to use the fondest term of endearment to which she has ever yet risen—her own little pink pincushion, from which, as she declares, she can take needles sometimes, and into which

sometimes she can also stick them ; needles of wit and of finery in phrase ; glistening adjectives ; and relative clauses long and sinewy as serpents ; but I will not seek to imitate her style for it is quite beyond me. But in any case, is it not true that the count has recommended himself to her also, and has won even from that silly creature a really true appreciation of his character (and of the active goodness of his nature) ?

A. It is so, truly enough. And many hope that as she continues to like him more and more and to see more and more into those other parts of his nature which were not the ones which first attracted her, so she may gradually throw away much of her nonsense and become a really charming creature again. But it was his madrigals and double sonnets that first won her to appreciate him. She could not for a long time see any of his other claims to esteem and admiration.

F. Then his poetical writings and his fine style were or are the smile of Monsieur Hyacinthe to Madame de Pont-Levis ?

A. Certainly.

F. Then we have seen him drawing three totally different people to himself, by three totally different methods, he said. And yet it was only by those very differences that he was able to engage their several attentions at all ?

A. Yes.

F. That is important, he said. But further, after each introduction as it were, had been made ; after each smile had elicited its proper response, did not he in each case lead those whom he had thus attracted, on to something beyond ? To the appreciation of something which one can only describe as simply himself : the *ἐνεργεία* or inner activity of the essential goodness of his nature ? Did not he do this ? So that they each reached at last the same end by a different road, the different roads being absolutely necessary in order to lead on different sorts of persons ?

A. Yes, I said. And we have not mentioned today by any means all the varieties of ways by which people have

come to know Monsieur Hyacinthe. For we might have spoken of his friendship with the Abbé Patois who is as blind as a bat to all things save illuminated manuscripts—and yet who has become intimately *lié* with our dear count ever since he gave him that precious mass-book from Compostella, and showed that he himself also understood and appreciated such things. Then there is his friend Captain Passeport, with whom he talks “bastions” and Monsieur l’Intendant Filet de Rouge—whom he assists in looking after the bridges and toll-gates of the district. And there is the “Swiss” of the cathedral—our faithful Gondolet; and Madame Trépasser, the verger’s widow, and many more, all of whom I might mention if I did not think that it would weary you, and if the time for our return were not drawing near.

- F. Yes. It is getting late. Let Damis go therefore to the end of the meadow and see if the coach is there, and if all is ready for our return. For we must start soon. Meanwhile we have not much more to say on this subject of the variety of beauty, have we? And as for the question which you raised about “the mood problem”: that we must discuss another time. But did you really take the meaning of my reference to Monsieur Hyacinthe and of our going so lengthily into his character, do you think?
- A. I think so. His character, or the “active goodness of being” as you have so insistently called it, was meant to represent the active goodness and essence of God, or of the Absolute One, to us. And the various accomplishments which have led various people to understand his character and powers and excellence by first only understanding one or other of their manifestations, and so later being led on to the understanding of the things themselves—of which those various accomplishments and graces were but the outward signs, like attractive signboards or notices erected outside shops or inns to make people come in—these, I say, were the images of those various kinds of beauty which fill people with delight and lead them on to the contemplation of, or communion with, the Absolute:

Although indeed we never know exactly what that absolute may be, even when we are nearest to it, but only feel that we are raised above and beyond the beauty which has first happened to attract us, and which is, indeed, more than it appears to be in itself, because it involves in its contemplation a wonder and a mystery which is not noticed at first sight, but which is the real *raison d'être* of that same beautiful thing's existence, just as the real *raison d'être* of Monsieur Hyacinthe's poetry is not so much to describe the thing which he describes, but rather to bring the reader into touch with the author's own particular way of looking at the thing which he describes—that is to say, into touch with himself, with his energetic being—and our old friend, the natural goodness of his character. Am I right, even though I seem to stutter in giving an account of what I seem to apprehend?

F. You are quite right. And I think you will, therefore, be ready to agree with me when I say that we have found beautiful things not to be anything in themselves of ultimate value. "And why?" you may ask yourself; but will be able to answer with me: Because Beauty would seem never to have an end apart from attraction, and therefore not to be in itself an ultimate thing, since it involves no activity which is self-sufficing; for to attract is not self-sufficing, but is only a means to an end, and is therefore not an ultimate activity; for I think that we could prove that an ultimate must be self-sufficing, and indeed that only goodness can be the ultimate activity of all. I say, therefore, that since Beauty is not a self-sufficing activity, beautiful things are not absolute in themselves. We have settled that, then, have we not?

A. Yes, I said.

F. And yet we have also seen that the beautiful is very often the best possible herald or usher to introduce us to the Absolute; since, just as fencing introduced our friend first to the young men's notice, so that they might know him, and poetry introduced him to Madame du Pont-Levis and so on—as we gave instances enough—so a beautiful sonata will be the best means

by which one person can be led into the contemplation of the Absolute—the active goodness of God—and a Rembrandt etching, or a mountain capped with snows, be the best for another, and so on, and so on. And thus, shall we not see that each of these will not be an absolute in itself, and yet will be able to claim a close relationship to the Absolute; the sort of relationship perhaps that an ambassador bears to his sovereign, or even the body to the soul?

A. Yes. That is all quite clear.

F. And it is also quite clear, is it not, that in their ultimate end these various forms of Beauty all coalesce and meet, and harmonize with each other quite easily, or rather lose themselves completely in achieving their end, and in rejoining or in leading others to rejoin, their great first cause; just as several ambassadors may bear several different messages to different nations, and yet all combine to lead those nations into union with the monarch who has sent them out, to do his business?

A. Yes. There is thus union and harmony between apparently different ideas of beauty, certainly, if what you say is true; as I think it is.

F. And that harmony is only possible, is it not, because the various beautifuls are nothing in themselves (for then, if each were absolute, all could not harmonize into one absolute, since all are different) but rather are only representatives of a common something, other than themselves, which is indeed one, and a true, harmony?

A. Yes. And yet, why is it that in a chord of music we can see harmony although it contains several and various notes, which all sound differently from each other, while in a combination of the different kinds of beauty we cannot imagine any such a harmony you say?

F. Why, that is simple! For I willingly own that we can form several kinds of beauty into one harmonious whole of beauty, but we cannot include all forms of beauty; since some will be mutually antagonistic. And indeed even in music, what sort of chord would that be if it contained all the notes of the harpsichord?

- A. True, I said. And I see that those people are therefore ridiculous who would make Beauty absolute. For one cannot speak properly of Beauty unless one include in the meaning of the word all the various ideas of Beauty that exist or have ever existed ; and yet these, as we have seen, must often appear enemies to each other—contradictory, and mutually destructive. Therefore you are right. And the various beautifuls can never unite, save in dissolving themselves into that common activity, or Absolute Essence, which stands behind them all, and of which they are but the shadows.
- F. Yes. And unless they unite, the various beautifuls, or ideas of the beautiful, cannot become one *Beauty*. So I think we have truly shown that Beauty in itself does not exist. That is only the name which we apply to the sum total of God's mysterious signs and whisperings, and to the joyful appearances of the divine smiles.
- A. I hear the bells already ; and Damis is beckoning to us from the gate. We must go, my lord—and yet I am not quite satisfied, and have several questions to ask you still, in addition to that which we have already said that we would discuss—as, for instance, whether the way through the Beautiful is a necessary path to be travelled over, in order to reach the divine absolute, or whether we can skirt round to it by taking a more circuitous route—or again on the other hand, reach our goal by a short cut ? Also as to whether, if some people were to be mistaken in their idea of the beautiful so far as to think that they had found at least some sort of a beautiful, whereas it were really a pretence, like bad music or a debasing picture—which would be as though in your story of M. Hyacinthe someone had begun to be attracted to him because he were hypocritical, or cold, or took evil drugs, or practised witchcraft—whether, if such a thing happened, and they appeared in no way likely to escape from their delusion before death—what one would say of such a case and how provide for it ? Or again I might ask what were the tests of the true and the false beautiful ?

F. I see the coach-horses are restless ; and indeed I must not be late tonight ; for I am to pronounce a discourse, as you will remember ! But your questions suggest many answers to me ; as does, also, that point which you raised before. We will come here again, then, another day, and continue our discussion ; though I cannot say that we shall finish it. For nothing in thought, of course, is ever finished. However—yes, we are coming, Damis. Ah, my cane ! . . . Well, then, let us walk quickly.

H. V. F. SOMERSET.

HAWKER OF MORWENSTOW: POET AND MYSTIC

WALKING westwards along the North Devon coast from the estuary of the Torridge, that is to say from Appledore, you will pass, by way of Abbotsham, Peppercombe (where stands Portledge, the ancient home of the Pyne-Coffins—a great name in Devon), Bucks Mills, Clovelly, and come at length to Hartland Point, which marks the extremity of the westernmost arm of Bideford—or as some misguided folk will call it, Barnstaple—Bay. All along this shore there is abundant verdure, especially in sheltered Clovelly, where myrtles and fuchsias flourish in profusion and the woods descend to the very edge of the sea. But when you have rounded Hartland Point the scene changes, the land grows bleak and barren, the coast takes on a wilder and a sterner aspect. Here you are in Cornwall and here, just on the Cornish side of the border that divides the two counties, lies the little village of Morwenstow.

Morwenstow or Morwenstowe appears on most old maps as Moorwinstow, as though the name was derived from the moors round about it. It was Robert Stephen Hawker, for forty years Vicar of the place, who changed the name to Morwenstow, connecting it with Morwenna, one of the numerous Saints for whom the Cornish land is famous, holding that Morwenstow was the Stow (or station) of St. Morwenna. Leland says that Brechan, a petty king of Wales, from whom the district of Brocchanoc (Brecknock) derived its name, had by his wife Gladwise twenty-four sons and daughters, all of whom became Saints, Martyrs or Confessors, leading the lives of hermits in Devon and Cornwall. Certain people—some noted antiquaries among them—have disputed concerning the identity of this St. Morwenna, or Norwinna, or Modwena, one or two going so far as to deny her existence altogether. For any of these doubters or sceptics to discuss the matter with Hawker was vain, and for a good reason. Hawker had *seen* St. Morwenna and held converse with her, and that not once but repeatedly. When

I speak of converse, I do not necessarily mean in words. Angels and spirits, when they vouchsafe to hold discourse with those of flesh and blood, dispense with the cumbersome apparatus of subject, predicate and object. Nor is what they say audible in the ordinary sense of the word. Silently, instantaneously, mysteriously, they flash their meaning on the hearts they touch, the hearts that love them. It is only when those favoured ones would fain tell others what the Angels have said to them that they must needs avail themselves—there being no other way—of the elaborate and imperfect machinery of human speech. For Robert Stephen Hawker—poet and mystic—the air was full of invisible presences which other more prosaic spirits might take, like the Queen in *Hamlet*, for the very coinage of a disordered brain. For Hawker, I say, the air was full of viewless spirits, angels, ministers, messengers. For him the Past was not dead, it was but the Invisible Present, and not by any means always invisible, else how could he have seen and held converse with his Saint Morwenna who had made this little village on that wild, storm-tossed Cornish coast her abiding-place, her home? But if it was here that Morwenna made up her mind to dwell, the place, it would seem, had been chosen and sanctified by One more holy still. “I used yesterday, in my sermons,” Hawker once related, “one of the pious notions of old time. Said the Forefathers, ‘Where did Lord Jesu abide during the forty days and forty nights?’ Said some: ‘He went like thought from Land to Land—He glided as Angels glide, all round the Earth, and where-soever He said in His omniscience that there would afterwards be a Church built and consecrated, there the Lord paused the sole of His foot and hallowed it.’ So I said yesterday (he goes on) ‘what a thought to think that here the arisen Lord once stood still, and looked along the sea and made Benediction with the point of the nails on this most blessed ground!’” You see, Hawker was a mystic, and the Horatios of the world, quite content with their little pinchbeck philosophies, smile with mingled tolerance, amusement and disdain at Hawker and his dreams, Hawker and his saints and

angels. They called him "eccentric", and so he was—but of that presently.

Like Newman, Hawker attributed the operations of natural Law to personal agencies behind the veil. "The husbandmen," he said, "go out pompously with the seed-drip on their arm and scatter the seed on the soil and cover it with earth and go their way. But God and His angels then enter the field—a mighty power broods over the grain and descends beneath the furrow and the life begins to move, and first the blade cometh up and then the stalk and then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear arises into light and growth beneath the silent touch of God. All is miracle, and wonder, and majesty, and the thousands are fed as they were on Mount Tabor from the few grains that increase and multiply in the fingers of One who is more than Man."

Hawker lived in the days when the parsons, or most of them, farmed their own glebes, and this, combined with the fact that they usually came of the same regional stock as their parishioners, produced a community of interest and understanding between them. "When thou reapest thy field, thou shalt not reap the corners of thy fields, neither shalt thou go over them again. They shall be for the poor and the fatherless and the widow." Parson Hawker bethought himself of that injunction at Harvest Time. "They tell me," he writes, "that several of the women this year have gleaned a double Winchester bushel; that is sixteen gallons bread, enough for one person for three months of the coming year—and what a help this must be for a poor family. My Old Man's Wife and Children, have the earpicking, as they call it, of my Wheatenarish. After these come God's Birds—who neither sow nor reap nor gather into Barns—and yet they have a Father in Heaven who feedeth them. Our Blessed Saviour never gave us a lovelier image of trust in an unseen hand than when he commanded us to consider the Bird cared for by God Himself—gathering in the fields its daily food, and resting at night with its head beneath its wing upon the peaceful bough, without one anxiety about the morrow, being very sure that there is One who will give it tomorrow's bread. And for this

reason it was that our Ancestors of the Church, who selected the Gospels for the day, chose to be read, just as Harvest closes, the Gospel of the Birds and Flowers."

Most characteristic of the man was his love of animals, particularly of birds, which he fed and tended to the utmost of his power when the weather was severe. "All my Rooks—Daws—Blackbirds—Robins and Titmice of two kinds, have come to my windows all day long and been fed; so they live and do well. But the wilder birds are dead in multitudes." And again: "Every year of my life I cause the Hay-loft doors to be left open in Swallow Time, and also of other outhouses, and every year do they, the swallows and the martens, build in the self-same places inside and out. They began to build nests under our eaves as soon as the house was built—'the lucky swallow builds'—and the whole of our premises and fields are full of birds semi-tame: Rooks in the Churchyard trees, Daws in every chimney, save one (the kitchen), and in every hedge some. No gun is ever fired near. Did I tell you of a saying of, I think, St. Basil—*ubi aves ibi angeli*—wheresoever there are birds there are angels?"

Hawker kept what he called a thought-diary and some of the entries in it are quoted in the admirable biography—truly a monument of *pietas*—which his son-in-law, Mr. C. E. Byles, has devoted to his memory. Many of the thoughts thus recorded are about birds. Here is one of them:

"They were first seen in the soft Sunlight of the fifth day, and as they floated through the silent air with their silver plumage and feathers like Gold, the Angels said to one another, 'Behold what beautiful images of the Mind of God have come forth with wings?'"

"All birds and flowers and animals had to his mind some symbolic attitude," writes Mr. Byles, and he quotes the following: "A Doe Rabbit has made her Nest and reared her young in a Maltese Cross flower Bed in the garden where I exchanged *fama* for *fumus*. It was underneath a Columbine, a flower emblematic of the Holy Ghost and named from the Dove."

Mr. Byles laments somewhere, *à propos* of that splendid

fragment "The Quest of the Sangraal", that Hawker never produced a poem of a magnitude worthy of his genius. But Hawker's whole life was a poem and it is fortunate for him, and for us, that Mr. Byles has so preserved it—

*ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
vita senis.*

Hawker with his tenderness towards animals was a strange contrast to most of the neighbouring parsons, his contemporaries. Away at Swimbridge, beyond Barnstaple, the Rev. John Russell was a crack shot and a valiant hunter of the fox and the red deer. There was as little of the mystic about Parson Jack, good, worthy man, as there was about George Eliot's Parson Irwine, who "thought the custom of baptism more important than its doctrine, and that the religious benefits the peasant drew from the church where his fathers worshipped and the sacred piece of turf where they lay buried were but slightly dependent on a clear understanding of the Liturgy or the Sermon". Nevertheless, in charity, in practical kindness towards their fellow-creatures (stags, foxes, game and rabbits excluded), there was not a whit to choose between them.

Hawker was what is known as a character, indeed, an eccentric. It is not surprising, therefore, that anecdotes and legends—what we may call the small change of biography—cluster thick about his name. Some of them are true, some half true and the rest obvious and clumsy inventions. They will all be found with the appropriate comment in the pages of Mr. Byles's biography. The late Mr. Baring Gould, who wrote an exceedingly fallacious Life of Hawker, would accept any story on the flimsiest evidence or none at all, provided it were, in his view, sufficiently amusing or picturesque. Hawker swimming out to a rock one moonlight night, covering his head with seaweed, starting to sing and, when the concourse that had gathered together on the shore to see "the mermaid" was sufficiently large, winding up with "God Save the Queen" and plunging into the

sea; the old woman whose crock vanished up the chimney and later on, in answer to her prayers, appeared outside her cottage door (it having been hauled up and put there by Hawker)—these and a number of other stories good, bad and indifferent, are all recorded by his biographers and, at least by Mr. Byles, patiently assigned their due degree of credibility. Eccentric he certainly was; but I have a shrewd notion that his eccentricity was the armour he put on to shield himself in his contacts with the world. He was not the first highly strung and sensitive nature to find an "antic disposition" a great resource in dealing with the foolish, the ignorant, and the mean.

Most people have some little harmless luxury or another which they like to gratify "within reason". One man is not happy unless he has a certain brand of tobacco, another has a weakness for old red-morocco bindings hand-tooled, yet another likes, if the temperature gives the smallest excuse for it, to indulge himself with a wood-fire of a summer evening. Even Milton—that rigid Puritan—commends a "neat repast of Attic taste, with wine", and music to follow. Hawker's foibles were venial enough. He must needs have Caravan Tea (for which he paid five shillings and four pence a pound at Messrs. Twinings) and his note-paper, which was "linen wove", ruled with thin red lines, he must have specially made for him by Messrs. de la Rue and Company—for him, and him alone. The coxcombry of it! He was also mighty fastidious about his clothes, especially his hats. He had a rooted dislike to black. At one time he wore a brown cassock, but this he later on discarded (it went to clothe a scarecrow, and the birds, taking the effigy, which had on one of his old hats, for the Vicar, flocked round it to be fed) for a claret-coloured tail-coat. He wore—even when he went to London—sea boots and a blue jersey such as fishermen wear, with a red cross embroidered over the heart. His hat was a broad-brimmed beaver, brownish in hue, or else a pink one, of the same material, but with no brim at all, like an archimandrite's. In winter, when he went abroad, he wore an outer garment of his own invention. It was of

marked simplicity. It was, in fact, nothing more nor less than a blanket, of a special quality bought in Bideford, with a hole in the middle, through which he passed his head. Such was his secular attire. He was among the first to introduce the use of vestments into the services of the Church of England. He is described by a lady as having christened her son "in full vestments—alb—magnificent purple velvet cope, fastened with a large sort of brooch—a white stole very richly worked in gold, an exact copy, he said, of St. Cuthbert's, found on opening the coffin still preserved in Durham Cathedral". He also wore red gloves and was sometimes attended, even in the sanctuary, by his dog, Dustyfoot, and several cats, "as having a right of admission to God's House and as being more fit to enter therein than many Christians". But, in all Hawker's career, nothing can vie in eccentricity with his two marriages. When he was nineteen he went up to Oxford (where he carried off the Newdigate with a poem on Pompeii). He had not been there a year when he married a Miss Charlotte P'ans, a lady some twenty years his senior, with whom he lived happily for forty years. She died, at the age of eighty, in February, 1863. On 21 December, 1864, he married a Miss Pauline Anne Kuczynski, a young girl forty years his junior! All these peculiarities, which are the stock-in-trade of those who would portray him as a "character", are apt to obscure that which constitutes his real and enduring claim to the attention of posterity, namely his poetry, the value of which is very considerable indeed.

The sighing of the breeze, the raving of the storm-blast, the shock of the billows hurling themselves against that iron coast, the cry of the sea-bird, the legends of ancient chivalry that haunt those shores of Lyonesse, some tale of sacred shrine, or haunted forest, or holy well, such is the stuff his dreams are made on—these things, and "the short and simple annals of the poor". His longest and most ambitious effort is "The Quest of the Sangraal", which he began when he was sixty, but never finished. Fragment as it is, it entitles Hawker to the place which Mr. Byles justly claims for him, a place,

that is, "among the greater religious poets of England". One of the foremost authorities on Arthurian literature, a most learned and discerning critic, the late Professor Edmund Gardner, has told me how far closer, in his opinion, Hawker came to the spirit of Malory than did Tennyson in his "Idylls of the King". "The Quest of the Sangraal" is undoubtedly a notable fragment, and the poem, if it had been completed, would have been a splendid one. Nevertheless, I should have been loth to exchange it for some of those shorter flights, those rich, melodious ballads and tender lyrics which seem to mirror their author's very soul. Matthew Arnold has said that the ballad form is not the highest form of poetry, that it is far from being the highest form of poetry, and when he rejected it as a medium for a translation of Homer I am sure he was entirely justified. However, there are ballads and ballads, and of Hawker's it may be said that the delicate, ethereal quality of their inspiration relieve them from any suspicion of that tawdriness, those second-rate brass-band effects which are too often the dominant note in, for example, Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome". Hawker's ballads at their best—and the "Song of the Western Men" with its famous chorus about Trelawney (which chorus was traditional and not Hawker's at all), is perhaps not among them—are worthy to rank with the most beautiful and tender ballads in the language, with "Sir Patrick Spens", let us say, or with Scott's "Rosabelle".

The stirring, martial kind of ballad Hawker could write supremely well when he liked. Here is one, with as much of the gallop of horses in it as there is in Virgil's

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

It is called "Sir Beville or the Gate-song of Stowe", and it celebrates the gallantry of Sir Beville Granville, or Grenville, son and heir of the deathless hero of "The Revenge". Here are three verses :

Call the hind from the plough, and the herd from
the fold,

Bid the Wassailer cease from his revel :

And ride for old Stowe, where the banner's unrolled,
For the cause of King Charles and Sir Beville.

Trevanion is up, and Godolphin is nigh :
And Harris of Hayne's o'er the river ;
From Lundy to Looe, "One and all" is the cry,
And The King and Sir Beville for ever.

Ride ! ride ! with red spur, there is death in delay,
'Tis a race for dear life with the devil ;
If Dark Cromwell prevail, and the King must give way,
This earth is no place for Sir Beville.

It was no place for Sir Beville. That intrepid royalist, as the poem goes on to relate, was killed by a blow from a pole-axe while fighting valiantly for King Charles, at Lansdown, near Bath. He lies beneath a stately monument in Kilkhampton Church.

That has the true pulse-quickenning ballad-ring about it, but far more characteristic of Hawker, of Hawker the lover of birds and beasts and flowers, Hawker the dreamer, Hawker the mystic, are the verses entitled "The Silent Tower of Bottreau" with their strangely moving refrain, which tell why no bells ring out from the tower of Bottreau, that is to say, of Bos, while all the other churches round about peal out their chimes.

Tintadgel bells ring o'er the tide,
The boy leans on his vessel side ;
He hears that sound, and dreams of home
Soothe the wild orphan of the foam.

"Come to thy God in time !"

Thus saith their pealing chime :

Youth, manhood, old age past,

"Come to thy God at last."

But why are Bottreau's echoes still ?
Her tower stands proudly on the hill ;
Yet the strange chough that home hath found :
The lamb lies sleeping on the ground.

"Come to thy God in time !"

Should be her answering chime :

"Come to thy God at last !"

Should echo on the blast,

The Dublin Review

The ship rode down with courses free,
 The daughter of a distant sea :
 Her sheet was loose, her anchor stored,
 The merry Bottreau bells on board.

"Come to thy God in time !"
 Rung out Tintadgel chime ;
 Youth, manhood, old age past,
 "Come to thy God at last !"

The pilot heard his native bells
 Hang on the breeze in fitful swells ;
 "Thank God," with reverent brow he cried,
 "We make the shore with evening's tide."

"Come to thy God in time !"
 It was his marriage chime :
 Youth, manhood, old age past,
 His bell must ring at last.

"Thank God, thou whining knave, on land,
 But thank, at sea, the steersman's hand,"
 The captain's voice above the gale :
 "Thank the good ship and ready sail."

"Come to thy God in time !"
 Sad grew the boding chime :
 "Come to thy God at last !"
 Boomed heavy on the blast.

Uprose that sea ! as if it heard
 The mighty Master's signal-word :
 What thrills the captain's whitening lip ?
 The death-groans of his sinking ship.

"Come to thy God in time !"
 Swung deep the funeral chime :
 Grace, mercy, kindness past,
 "Come to thy God at last !"

Long did the rescued pilot tell—
 When gray hairs o'er his forehead fell,
 While those around would hear and weep—
 That fearful judgment of the deep.

"Come to thy God in time !"
 He read his native chime :
 Youth, manhood, old age past,
 His bell rung out at last.

Still when the storm of Bottreau's waves,
Is wakening in his weedy caves :
Those bells, that sullen surges hide,
Peal their deep notes beneath the tide :
 "Come to thy God in time !"
Thus saith the ocean chime :
Storm, billow, whirlwind past,
 "Come to thy God at last !"

When a certain member of his flock, a farm-hand, came to die, the Vicar was asked by the man's relations to bury him at eventide because, they explained, it was then, when the day's work was done, that the dead man left the fields and set his face towards home. This petition inspired Hawker with the following lines :

"At eve should be the time," they said,
"To close their brother's narrow bed" :
'Tis at that pleasant hour of day
The labourer treads his homeward way.

His work was o'er, his toil was done.
And therefore, with the set of sun,
To wait the wages of the dead
We laid our hireling in his bed.

How deep and constant was the sympathy with which the Vicar of Morwenstow entered into the hearts and minds of his parishioners, and how in turn the knowledge of that sympathy led them to confide their innermost thoughts in him, is beautifully and touchingly exemplified in a poem entitled, "The Dirge"; to which Hawker appends the following characteristic note :

The first line of these verses haunted the memory and the lips of a good and blameless young farmer who died in my parish some years ago. It was, as I conceive, a fragment of some forgotten dirge, of which he could remember no more. But it was his strong desire that "the words" should be "put upon his headstone", and he wished me also to write "some other words to make it complete". I fulfilled his entreaty, and the stranger who visits my churchyard will find this dirge carven in stone, "in sweet remembrance of the just", and to the praise of the dead, Richard Cann.

Here are four of the verses :

"Sing from the chamber to the grave !"

Thus did the dead man say :

"A sound of melody I crave,
Upon my burial-day.

"Bring forth some tuneful instrument,

And let your voices rise :

My spirit listened, as it went,
To music of the skies.

"Sing from the threshold to the porch !

Until you hear the bell :

And sing you loudly in the church,
The Psalms I love so well.

"Then bear me gently to my grave,

And as you pass along,

Remember 'twas my wish to have
A pleasant funeral song."

The poem that begins "How wildly sweet, by Hartland Tower" (and what memories they awaken, those words, to all who have memories of Hartland and its noble tower) "Ephpheta", "King Arthur's Waes-hael" (of which he says, "The rounded shape of the bowl for waes-hael was intended to recall the image of a mother's breast ; and thus it was meant, with a touching simplicity, to blend the thought of our Christmas gladness with the earliest nurture of the Child Jesus")—these and the sonnet entitled "The Vine", and many others besides, all bear the hall-mark of a peculiar and unmistakable distinction.

During the summer of 1875 Hawker's health began to fail and his wife took him away for a change of scene. They went first to visit his brother at Boscastle and afterwards to Plymouth, where he died on 15 August, having been received the day before into the Catholic Church. It is said that, just before his departure from Morwenstow, he sent for the churchwarden and said to

him, "I am sure I shall never come back alive, so I have sent for you that I may tell you where I wish my body to be laid." But that was not to be. He was buried, not at Morwenstow, but in Plymouth Cemetery. A granite cross was erected over the grave in which eighteen years later his wife was laid beside him. The inscription round the base of the Cross is a line from "The Quest of the Sangraal": "I would not be forgotten in this land". On the back of the tombstone are engraven the words of St. Monica's last petition: "Lay this body anywhere; be not concerned about that. The only thing I ask of you is, that you make remembrance of me before the altar of the Lord, wheresoever you are". On the coffin, and on the stone that supports the cross, were inscribed these words:

ROBERT STEPHEN HAWKER,
FOR 41 YEARS VICAR OF MORWENSTOW,
WHO DIED IN THE CATHOLIC FAITH,
ON THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION OF OUR BLESSED LADY,
1875
AGED 71
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

"The first Sunday evening we were in Plymouth," his wife records, "he attended the only Service at the Cathedral at which he was ever present. Returning home, he said, 'How much I should like to pass a night in that Cathedral!' For this reason his body was lodged there on the night previous to his interment—and for the rest, I bore in mind the charge given by the bold Crusader, Sir Ralph de Blancminster in my Husband's own Poem:

"Let Mass be said and requiem sung,
And that sweet chime I loved be rung.
Those sounds along the Northern wall
Shall thrill me like a trumpet call.

"On Saturday night, twelve hours before his death"—I quote again the words of Mrs. Hawker—"he was received into the Catholic Church, and the last rites and

ceremonies of that communion were administered to him by Canon Mansfield. His devotion to Our Blessed Lady was the feature of his life, and I have not in my own mind the slightest doubt but that she obtained for him the grace to die on the Feast of her own Assumption into Heaven."

It is not necessary, it is certainly not my intention, to disturb the dust of the controversy that raged so bitterly over the matter of Hawker's conversion. Those who accused him of hypocrisy, of double-dealing, simply did not know the man. The merest suspicion of such a dishonour would have scorched him like a flame. If he deceived anybody, he deceived himself. All his life he believed that he was in very truth a Catholic. Though he held strong opinions and could on occasion express them with point and vigour, he was not much of a controversialist. He had no taste for abstract ratiocination. Things which to others were stumbling-blocks—such, for example, as the Public Worship Regulation Act, the Gorham Judgement and so on—and which may have troubled him for a time, he was able to put aside, heeding them no more. He had lived in a world of his own, a world apart, a beautiful and unreal world of his own imagination. But now in his last hours, it may be that the ghosts of those doubts and misgivings he thought he had laid for ever, came back to trouble his repose. He was now to render his last account. Was he at this last unutterably solemn hour quite sure that there had been no make-believe, no imaginativeness in his idea of himself as a Catholic? Convictions which hold strongly enough in ordinary times are apt to waver as we are borne nearer and nearer to Eternity. And so I think he hailed with delight and inexpressible relief the proposal of his wife—who was not then a Catholic though she afterwards became one, having been much rather converted by her husband than he by her—that she should send for a priest. Surely there then was borne upon his ear the music of those viewless bells of Bottreau,

Storm, billow, whirlwind past,
Come to thy God at last.

I know that the Church has ruled against the validity of Anglican orders. Nevertheless—I speak obediently, and under correction—I should like to hope that, in the case of Robert Stephen Hawker, who had always been a Catholic at heart, his ministrations had not been without a supernatural value. I should like to hope that, in his particular instance at least, God made an exception to His general rule, and that on the head of this His servant, who loved Him and His Saints, and especially His Blessed Mother, He laid His Own invisible and consecrating Hands.

J. LEWIS MAY.

THE CLASSICS AND PROPERTY

THE ancient philosophers, in so far as they "argued" the question of private property right, did not recognize it as a *natural* right. Whatever concessions they made in favour of private property they made on the basis of positive law, convenience, social necessity, etc. "Distinction of property is not inculcated by nature." "The natural law knows no distinction of property"—this is more or less conceded by all.

Plato does not discuss the question: he accepts it as being a settled thing. For example, in his *Laws* he represents the legislator addressing a dying man who is worried about the disposal of his property. "Your property does not belong to you, but to the whole of your race, both past and future; and, further, it belongs to the State."* The social motto of his *Republic* was to be: "Common property and Private use." It is not quite fair to Plato to say that in his *Republic* he advocates the abolition of private property. He does not write as an advocate. His *Republic* is from first to last a high-minded, philosophical romance enlivened with brightly coloured illustrations; and he visualizes not the altering of an old State but the founding of a new one. Moreover, in his *Laws* he modifies the rigid attitude of his *Republic* and condescends to accept the principle of private property and to make regulations regarding it. Even in the *Republic* his communism was, as far as we can see, intended for the ruling class. He does not say how all the others were to hold property, whether privately or in common.

Aristotle does not argue the question of private property-right. All that he does is to maintain that its institution is, on the whole, for the greater good of society as in fact constituted, that it affords the best basis for a "good life". Private ownership is bound up with the normal order of imperfect society; and although the division and appropriation of property is not dictated by the natural law, it is in accord with it and is, therefore, in that modified sense natural. Aristotle, however,

* XI, 923.

would not allow a slave to possess property; and this amounts to an admission that the right to private ownership arises not from the owner's position as a man but from his status as a citizen. At the same time, it would be an exaggeration to say that Aristotle is the champion of private property as we understand it. His motto was "Private ownership and Common use", as we see from the second book of his *Republic*, wherein he discusses at considerable length the respective merits of the three possible systems of owning property.*

The Stoic philosophers following Aristotle accepted private property-right as being convenient and, in practice, necessary. Like the mediaeval schoolmen they agree that in the beginning there was a community of goods and that human weakness and passion led to the institution of private ownership. This human weakness and passion bred strife and contention in the State; and thus, in time, men came to realize that some division of property was necessary. Private ownership, therefore, depends upon positive law and not upon natural right. In the ultimate analysis private ownership is found to have been "born of usurpation", to use the phrase of St. Ambrose. The classic poets who describe the Golden Age nearly all insist that the odious words "my" and "mine" had no place in it. Thus, for example, Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*; and he adds: "The Iron Age came last, and straightway the land, which had formerly been common property like the sunshine and the air, the careful surveyor marked out with his boundary-line."†

Cicero was very sensitive about property-rights and resisted the taxation of property;‡ nevertheless he allows that the law of nature cannot be invoked in its favour. In his *De Officiis* (the first classical book to be issued from a printing-press) he says: "There is no such thing in nature as private ownership; but property becomes private either through long tenure or through conquest or by process of law, bargain, purchase, or allotment. Each one should keep what has become his in one or other of these ways, but if he grabs at any-

* I, 11.

† I, 127.

‡ *De Officiis*, II, xxi.

thing more he will be violating the laws of human society.”* Elsewhere, however, he insists that property should be made available for the use of as many as possible.† It is difficult to see how property was to be made available for as many as possible as long as the State was forbidden to infringe the property-right of any private citizen, as Cicero maintains. Certainly this extreme view was not shared by any of the philosophers of antiquity, and it is doubtful if any State accepted, in practice, the absolute rights of property-owners. Mosaic legislation contains several enactments which represent the legal limitation of private property-rights—e.g. the remission of debts, the surrender to the poor of the spoils of war, the restitution after fifty years of alienated lands, and so on. Phaleas the Chalcidonian made a law compelling the rich to give dowries to the poor; while at Locri it was forbidden to sell one’s property to another except in case of dire necessity: and this measure was taken in order to keep ownership within bounds. Solon‡ forbade the indiscriminate acquisition of land by purchase. Hippodamus the Milesian suggested that the State should confiscate all property and then divide it up into three portions, (1) private land for farmers, (2) common land to provision the Army, and (3) “God’s allotment” for the upkeep of religion. In fact, there was a consensus of opinion that the control and equitable distribution of property was the very first duty of a State, since all strife in the State arose from neglect of this very function. The Scholastics allowed that the State in the interests of social peace had power to take property from one and give it to another.

At the same time, there is no doubt that Cicero’s contention that the State had no power to redistribute the property of its citizens was very firmly held by the property-owners themselves. Both Plato and Aristotle noted the inveterate tendency of the big landed proprietors to vest their possessions with a sort of sacred character. To lay hands upon what these men had acquired was resented as a sacrilege, and this despite the fact that their original claim to the property was

* I, vii.

† I, xxxvi.

‡ The first dictator.

perhaps based upon nothing more than violence or fraud. Plato maintained that this wrong-headedness distorted the social sense of the wealthy and that social progress would not be made unless and until they were educated out of their perversity.*

But one man in antiquity did persuade property-owners to give up their lands to the commonwealth to be divided equitably amongst all. This was Lycurgus, who lived (probably) in the ninth century B.C. Plutarch, who describes this experiment, says that Lycurgus embarked upon it in an effort to banish the two most dangerous diseases of the State—namely poverty and wealth. He found Sparta burdened with indigent and helpless people, whilst the resources of the country were concentrated in the hands of the privileged few. The latter he managed to inspire with heroism, and he then proceeded to parcel the land out on a basis of absolute equality. Plutarch says that, later, returning from abroad and seeing the fields ripe for the harvest with all the ears of corn standing at the same level, Lycurgus remarked: "Does not Laconia look like the property of several brothers who have just divided their inheritance between themselves?" The next thing was to call in and divide all movable property as well; and this Lycurgus, apparently, accomplished. Before his death he consulted the oracle of Delphi and was told that Sparta would continue to flourish just as long as it kept to the laws of Lycurgus. Plutarch assures us that this oracle was verified and that for five hundred years Sparta held the first rank in Hellas and that its corruption and downfall dated from the reign of Agis, who "polluted the city with gold and silver".† Things then went from bad to worse and in Aristotle's time Sparta had so defective a system of land-tenure that the masses were practically dispossessed. Aristotle declares that, at certain periods, two-fifths of the country were owned by women.

Aristotle died in 322 B.C. at Chalcis, the capital of Euboea, the largest island belonging to Greece. It happens that quite the most vivid description of the social evils that led to the downfall of the Roman Empire

* *Laws*, III, 684, 735, 736.

† *Life of Lycurgus*.

concerns the poor people of this very island. Dio Chrysostom, the rhetorician or moralizing philosopher, died about A.D. 120. His *Seventh* or *Euboean Discourse* was pronounced when he was a fairly old man. He introduces it with the story of the good and simple but difficult life led by the poor in the country parts of Euboea and of the harshness with which they were treated by the authorities. He ends the tale with the following remarks :

I have told this story not just for fun, but to give you some idea of how the poor people are living. I want you to understand that, as I have seen for myself, the poor, despite their poverty, bear comparison with the rich in the matter of their words and deeds and general social intercourse. In fact, in all that relates to seemliness of behaviour and a natural manner of living the poor have it every time. For such poor people, employment may be difficult to find, so that they will have to be assisted by funds since they have to pay for everything except water—house-rent, clothing, food, firewood, and even trifles like sticks and leaves. It will, no doubt, seem hard for people to exist under such conditions, people who own nothing except their own bodies. Perhaps we shall be compelled to banish the respectable poor in order to make our cities "well inhabited", as Homer says—that is to say, cities in which only prosperous people live. But what shall we do with all these poor people ? Shall we plant them in settlements in the country as the Athenians did ? Certainly, such a mode of life did not produce a degenerate breed of citizens, but men altogether better than those who later earned their living in the city as members of the assembly, jurymen and clerks—a lazy, and at the same time an ignoble, crowd. Therefore, no great danger can arise if all these respectable poor are given a chance of becoming rustics.

This proposal of Isocrates only accentuates the problem which Aristotle notes : "By whom is the uncongenial work going to be done ?" Aristotle considered that slavery was the only alternative. "If", he says, "the hammer and the sickle could move themselves slavery would be unnecessary." It is this problem which, in every age, casts the poor helplessly upon the rich, producing the helots of the past and the wage-slaves of the present.

In his book *The Russian Revolution*, Nicholas Berdyaev

says that the Russian communists are the first men in history who have attempted to introduce the communist idea into real life, and that before them there had been no more than partial outbreaks of communism. Perhaps this statement requires some qualification or explanation. The experiment of Lycurgus was an outbreak of communism which lasted for five centuries. Nor was communism confined to Sparta. There were many communistic settlements in the ancient world—at Crete, for example. According to Dio Cassius, the ancient Britons had everything in common, including wives and children.* Aristotle tells us that Phaleas of Chalcedon was the first legislator to introduce the system of community of property; but nothing is known concerning the period of this Phaleas nor the success or failure of his experiment. Mosaic legislation was largely a programme of theocratic communism based on solidarity, while the primitive Christian communities were to a big extent communistic. St. Gregory the Great wrote: "Vainly do those believe themselves to be innocent who appropriate the sole goods that God has rendered common."† Tertullian's phrase is well known: "Everything must be in common amongst us except women."‡ St. Paul inculcates the communism of Christian charity. "Let your abundance", he says to the rich, "supply their [the poor's] wants, that their abundance [i.e. their labour and talent] may supply your wants, that there may be an equality."§

The ancient philosophers who propounded communistic theories were certainly familiar with more than one serious attempt to introduce communism into real life. It has even been suggested that they had some acquaintance with the Pentateuch. In his *Timaeus* Plato says of God that, having finished the creation of the world, He rejoiced when He saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony. This has given rise to the (perhaps) fanciful conjecture that Plato was acquainted with the Book of Genesis.

It is important to bear in mind that Socrates and

* *Roman History*, LXII.

† *Apolog.*, c. 39.

‡ *Epist. ad Hedibiam*.

§ 2 Cor. viii, 14.

Plato intended their communistic programme to form an aristocratic ideal and not a democratic one. Plato and Socrates were themselves aristocrats, and they rejected the notion of the masses governing the State. Sparta was at once the most communistic and the most aristocratic republic of Greece. A communism which claims the equal right of all men to participate in the direction of the State, in other words an ochlocracy or dominion of the rabble, is foreign to the communism of antiquity. The model city which Plato envisaged in his *Laws* was one in which political authority was concentrated in the hands of the elders. Hence it has been described as a paradise for the old and a purgatory for the young. An anti-cultural democratism which aims at the destruction of all ascending values—at a levelling and cheapening of life with a consequent wretched sort of egalitarianism—would have received scant support from Socrates and his *divine* disciple. Both would have regarded the popular interpretation of the maxim "*Vox populi, Vox Dei*" as the supreme social lie; and it would have exasperated them as much as it did that unhappy modern victim of exasperation Léon Bloy. The "Athenian Stranger" of Plato's *Laws* is as anti-democratic as the "Socrates" of the *Republic*. Plato's *Republic* is a moderate oligarchy in which the citizen is allowed little more than the freedom to obey. It is far more Spartan than Athenian, less democratic than aristocratic. Slaves figure in Plato's Ideal Republic just as they do in More's *Utopia*; although, of course, the "slaves" of the *Utopia*, who were to do all the disagreeable work, were convicted criminals.

It is this that explains the noticeable gap in Plato's communistic programme. Aristotle complains that in the Ideal Republic the position of the ordinary citizen is left undetermined, as though he simply did not matter; whereas, as Aristotle says, the character and condition of the lower classes are of very great importance as factors in the well-being and stability of the State.* But Plato's mind is wholly taken up with what he calls the Guardian Classes. It is from this class that he demands heroic sacrifices. He has practically nothing to say about

* *Politics*, II, II, 2.

the status of the farmers—for example, whether or not they are to have their farms and wives and children in common.

Plato was well aware of the practical difficulties of the State communism which he recommends. His *Republic* is the Ideal Republic. He is not concerned with any other. He says: "If you want to know what an Ideal Republic ought to be like I shall tell you." Plato's communism is primarily a device to secure disinterestedness in the ruling class, because he was well aware that States are undermined by a lack of disinterestedness in the ruling class. He proceeds upon the assumption that the integrity of the State depends above all on the possessive instincts of the citizens being controlled. He maintains that the more legislation tends to equalize ownership the greater chance the State has of being a real commonwealth and the less chance it has of becoming a vested interest. Communism is the ideal to be aimed at. It may be quite unattainable but it is the objective, the governing principle. Legislation will be good in so far as it approximates to this ideal, and it will be bad in so far as it recedes from it. He is legislating for the *founding* of a new State, and he indicates, in a general way, the nature of the ingredients that ought to be used. "We must aim above the target if we wish to make a hit." He advises us to live on a plane higher than the possible and continue to hope and to plan as though we had to do with an ideal humanity.

The arrangements we have set out here (i.e. concerning the equitable distribution of land) will never be likely to meet with conditions so favourable that the entire programme can be carried out according to schedule. This supposes that the citizens will not object to such a manner of living together, and will submit to being restricted all their lives to a fixed and limited quantity of property, and to being forbidden to have gold and other things which the legislator is plainly obliged by our laws to forbid. But in all plans that one makes for the future, the most desirable plan is to fashion it on a model of perfect truth and beauty, then, if any one thing is impracticable, to omit it and leave it unexecuted and contrive to execute instead whatever most closely corresponds with the perfect plan. The

legislator should be allowed to express his ideal completely, and when he has done so it will be time to consult as to the expediency of this or that detail. For the maker of even the least important object, if he is to excel at all, must make it in everything consistent with itself.*

Earlier in the same book he insists that the old maxim "friends have everything in common" is the true basis of the social and economic order, and that it is so in spite of its difficulty. He admits that his ideal has never worked and probably never will work, but nevertheless he insists that the *model* social constitution is the one which provides for a community of goods and strives to eliminate private property. "Keep this ideal in mind and then make whatever modifications may be necessary, but make them always in the view of this ideal. Legislate in the shadow of this ideal"—this is Plato's point. "Of these objects," he says, "some are possible of attainment, some impossible; such as are possible the organizer of the State will desire: the impossible he will neither vainly desire nor attempt."

As a matter of fact, in his *Laws* Plato relaxes the rather rigid communism of the *Republic* by allowing the individual to possess a wife and family of his own and a certain amount of private property. This right to own, however, is to be subject to stringent restrictions and controlled by drastic penalties. He will not allow property inequality to exceed a proportion of four to one, and he restricts its natural accumulation to a quantity equal to four times the original amount. Plato was faced with the hard fact that the failure of the State to curb the possessive instincts of its citizens invariably produces social demoralization. He was well aware how easily a State tends to become "bound over to the service of human greed".† True to himself he pitches his ideal as high as it can be pitched, and he does that in order to emphasize the injustice of the opposite extreme. His *leitmotif* is that of the *Utopia* which appeared some two thousand years later. St. Thomas More was a witness of tendencies which he foresaw would be productive of a grave social problem.

* *Laws*, V, 745, 746.

† *Quadragesimo Anno*.

The "right to own" in his day was beginning to get the bit between its teeth with a consequent impoverishment of the masses and the destruction of their economic security. "Government as I see it," he says, "is a conspiracy of the rich who, on pretence of looking after the public, are only feathering their own nests." As an offset he painted his picture of the ideal State of Utopia.

So too Plato. He does not hope to be able to lead his world back to the social conditions of primitive times of which the poets had treasured the memory, to that Golden Age in which the words "my" and "mine" were never mentioned and "the tricks of violence begotten of the cursed love of gain" were unknown. But he considers that it is all to the good that his generation be reminded of the ideal, so that it may recognize how far it has strayed from it. But he has no silly illusions about the ideal itself. "This constitution which we are now engaged upon, if it came into being, would be very near to immortality. In such a State—be it gods or sons of gods who dwell in it—they dwell pleasantly living such a life as this."* And he adds: "Whether this state of affairs be practicable or not, no one will ever be able to devise a truer or more excellent state of things. Therefore we should not look elsewhere for a model constitution, but stick to this one, and with all our power promote a constitution *resembling* this one as closely as possible."

In the second book of his *Politics* Aristotle subjects Plato's (that is to say, Socrates') communism to a searching analysis. Opinions have differed as to the precise value of this criticism. For example, Wycliffe in his treatise *De Civili Dominio* maintained that much of Aristotle's reasoning was founded upon a real misunderstanding of Plato. It has been said that Plato's critics, from Aristotle down, have examined his programme for an Ideal State as though it were a Parliamentary Bill coming up for a second reading. Thus Aristotle complains that the detailed working-out of the constitution has not been gone into by Socrates. Socrates and Plato, however, were dealing with ideals and not working-out a constitution—that notion would degrade them to the level of mere

* *Laws*, V, 739.

draughtsmen or actuaries. It has even been suggested that Aristotle's method of treating Plato would make short work of the Gospel. Every ideal programme can be criticized on the grounds that it fails to do justice to actual life and is opposed to progress as man chooses to understand it. The Gospel itself has been objected to on the score that it is unadaptable to this or that particular brand of civilization which society manufactures and to which it attaches itself as though it were a necessity of its being.

Many of Plato's critics have fallen into the very pitfall against which he warns us in his *Phaedrus*,* the pitfall, namely, of a too-literal interpretation. Plato's supreme value lies in the fact that he was a visionary—in short, one of those whom practical men are fond of calling fools. But then, as Soloviev reminds us, practical men do not kindle life: that power is denied to them and reserved for the foolish idealists who live in the clouds. "Brilliant philosophers, this Socrates and this Plato," Aristotle seems to say, "but into what fantastic dreams are they seeking to entice us?"

Aristotle is easily able to expose the weakness of a communism which allows the masses to govern. In his *Politics* he says:

Even if the legislator could unify the State, he must not do so because he will destroy it in the process. Reciprocal equality is the safeguard of States. Even among a free and equal people this principle must obtain because all cannot possibly govern at once, and for equals thus to submit to authority in turn supposes that they are dissimilar. It is evident, therefore, that it is not natural for a State to be a unity in the extreme communistic sense. In fact, this that has been held to be the highest good of States really destroys States.

This criticism, in so far as it is directed against Plato, is quite irrelevant, as we have seen. While Plato insists that rulers have a moral obligation towards the people, he scouts the suggestion that they are to be consulted. The masses, according to Plato, spend their time in mistaking empty shadows for the real thing.

* 278 E.

By way of exposing the practical weakness of State communism Aristotle asks : "Should property be privately owned or shared in common ?" and he goes on :

In general, to live together and share all our human affairs in common is difficult, and particularly to share such things as those mentioned (i.e. farms, produce, etc.). Community of property involve these and other similar difficulties, and the present system would be vastly superior. It is evident that it is better for property to be privately owned, but to throw it open to common use. It is the special task of the legislator to educate the citizen up to this condition.

Plato would have made the same plea on behalf of his communism. He would have said : "If people can be educated up to the level of your system what is to prevent them from being educated up to the level of mine ?" As for Aristotle's plea that communism would make an end of liberality and alms-giving, Plato would have answered that where there is an equitable distribution of property the question of charity will not arise.

Aristotle then goes on to say :

Communist legislation therefore has a plausible appearance and might be considered humane ; for when we are told about it we welcome it gladly, imagining that it will result in a wonderful friendliness of everybody towards everybody. We are apt to welcome it all the more when somebody attacks the evils at present prevalent in States, tracing them to the fact that wealth is not held in common. But the real source of all these evils is not the absence of communism but wickedness, because we see far more quarrels taking place amongst those who own or use property in common than among those who have private estates.

To this Plato might have retorted that if it is wickedness and not the absence of communism that breeds avarice, it is wickedness that makes the communists greedy and quarrelsome, and not the presence of communism.

Aristotle thinks that private property is necessary for the promotion of the "good life". Plato, on the other hand, considers that private property, *in practice*, promotes the "bad life", since it inevitably leads to inequality.

"A community which has in it neither poverty nor wealth is usually the one in which the loftiest characters will be formed ; because in it there is no scope for the development of insolence and injustice, of rivalries and jealousies."* As for Aristotle's plea that communism is bound to stir up endless social strife, Plato might have pointed to the peace which Sparta enjoyed under communism during five centuries. Besides, as Duns Scotus says, it is no justification of private possessions to say that they promote social peace, for this peace *could* be preserved under communism. As a matter of fact the bias in favour of communism has usually been created by the pressure of social injustice—e.g. in the Middle Ages and in the early Church. The pressure of injustice has, to some extent, made Jewry the fertile breeding-ground of communism.

So much for the criticism of those who have ventured to criticize Aristotle's criticism. In fairness to Aristotle, however, it must be pointed out that in his own *Republic* he is drawing up a working constitution. Aristotle takes men and the world as he knows them and as he believes they will always be known. The proposals of Socrates and Plato postulate for their success a race of philosophers, while Aristotle does not believe that the birth-rate amongst philosophers will ever be particularly high. Having examined the proposals Aristotle sees no reason why a State should sacrifice its interests and modify its form of well-being to a purely speculative abstraction, a mere piece of poetry. The property system may be a sinful system ; but until such time as the human race as a whole consents to behave itself, the sinful system will have to be tolerated, every effort being made meanwhile to render it as free from sin as possible. Man cannot possibly do anything else than make the best of the only system that is practical and possible.

Aristotle, therefore, stands as a realist not in opposition to but in juxtaposition with Plato the idealist. The realism of the one has survived and no doubt will survive in contrast with an "impossible" idealism. Aristotle was undoubtedly the profounder *political* thinker of the

* *Laws*, III, 679.

two because he related his subject-matter to experience. Starting off with a pessimistic view of human nature he was searching for stability and security in society ; and therefore he discarded illusions as being of little practical service. He goes to the truth of the matter rather than to its imagination. Seeing that we have to deal with realities, we can well be thankful for Aristotle ; but at the same time we can ill afford to neglect Plato, since he reveals that better side of our aspirations without which reality would be intolerable. Although Aristotle follows in the footsteps of his master Plato, he softens his rigorism and is always biased in favour of all that is historically established and practically possible. He is on his guard against conceptions of politics and economics which take no account of actualities. He would say that remedies must fit facts and not hypotheses—that duty ceases where the impossible begins. He chooses the policy which is expedient and workable in preference to one that is idealistic. This is the wisdom of Aristotle. As Dion Cassius says in his *Roman History*, "Justice often loses in the contest with human nature and sometimes suffers total extinction, whereas expediency, by giving up a fragment of justice, preserves the greater portion of it intact."* Aristotle's genius is a sort of sublimated common sense, whereas Plato's made him loth to compromise with either his intellect or his sense of values. The early Fathers were very much under the influence of Platonic thought, although it is significant that Origen preferred the "greater humanity" of Aristotle's philosophy and its closer conformity to reality : nor can we help feeling that it is the severely practical turn of the Western mind that has largely determined its choice of the Stagyrite.

ALOYSIUS ROCHE.

* IV. 7.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XII. The Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A.D. 193-324. 35s. net. *Fifth Volume of Plates*. 15s. net. (Cambridge University Press.)

THE exceptional interest which most of us will find in the XIIth and last volume of this great work undoubtedly arises out of the particular period with which it is concerned; a period which witnessed that "resolute recovery and reconstruction" of the Roman Empire "which made it possible for the Middle Age of Europe to inherit much that had been the possession of the Ancient World"; a period which witnessed "the contemporary growth of the Christian Church within the Empire until, after conflict, it was taken into partnership by the Roman State" (p. v). Thus, looking back—as it might be from the days of John of Salisbury—we are enabled to trace up to a point of definite achievement the slow and inevitably painful pragmatic development of the principle which ultimately came to be formulated in the doctrine of the Two Swords, a principle originally implicit in our Lord's own words: *Reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari: et quae sunt Dei, Deo* (Matt. xxii, 21 *et parall.*).

We watch the stages pass in their majestic and triumphal succession by which the Church claimed and finally established the right of the God whom it worshipped to be accepted as the Providential Ruler of the Universe, capturing for Him the allegiance alike of a polity for which a *Juppiter Optimus Maximus* was a moral and an intellectual necessity, of a vast assortment of races scattered east and west, observing in varying degrees of devotion each its own cult, and finally of a philosophic nucleus, Neopythagorean, Platonic, Neoplatonic or other, represented here and there more or less impressively throughout the cities of the empire.

At all adequately to appreciate the volume which lies before us might well demand the services of a committee of specialists, for within its prescribed limits it is little less than encyclopaedic. It is remarkable as a great unity of judgement at which men of different races, each of world-wide reputation in his own department, have arrived after extensive research and exhaustive inquiry; none the less, but probably the more, such a unity, because it does not attempt to disguise the fact that "much still remains only half known or in dispute", nay, rather declares that among its authors "there is no agreement over important general questions such, for instance, as the relations between the Empire

and the Christian Church" (p. v). For, in spite of this frank avowal, we receive the impression that we have in the pages which follow, presented on the whole fairly and impartially, all the material needed in order to estimate the true functioning of the Christian Church in its final struggle to gain for itself recognition as universal in its scope, because the representative of the One God who, in Lacordaire's words, "is a stranger nowhere".

Older men amongst us may, perhaps, in considering this particular aspect of the book, turn to the pages of their Gibbon—a work which must always remain monumental. We shall feel that, while the writer of the eighteenth century devotes two long chapters (XV and XVI) exclusively, and with some measure of summary, to the Christian religion and to its history during this period, these writers of today provide us rather with the *data* incidentally as they arrive in their historical sequence, leaving it to the intelligent reader to summarize them and to draw his own conclusions. This is, surely, the sounder method of historiography, and we should expect no less from the distinguished masters who have put their hands to what is here.

Amongst the most instructive chapters from this point of view we may note three (IX, XIX, XX), the first the work of Mr. Mattingly, the remaining two that of Professor Baynes, which tell the story of events leading up to the Persecution of Diocletian, of the persecution itself and of its failure and of the Rise of Constantine. Taking for example the last paragraph of Chapter XIX, while we shall scarcely be prepared to accept as evidence of Christian provocation the fact that "when Hierocles in Egypt had condemned a Christian virgin to confinement in a brothel, Aedesius knocked him down and continued beating him as he lay on the ground" (p. 676), we shall readily acknowledge that the testimony to pagan sympathy with the victims of persecution, a testimony not always so generously given, enables us to understand better something of the price which was paid by the martyrs in order to materialize their fellowship in the passion of our Lord. Of particular interest is the story of the persecution itself, as told in the concluding section of Chapter XIX. The first edict—of which no text, or of any other, is given in the *acta* of the martyrs—although less ghastly than the fourth, issued by Galerius—whom Professor Baynes, following Eusebius and Lactantius, regards as the real author of the persecution—when the dangerous illness of Diocletian left him a free hand, fixed the norm for all which was to follow. Its effect upon the Christians may be summed up in the words of Lactantius, "*libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent*". But to what did this amount? The edict was impartial and levelling; no city of the empire was exempt from

its terms; no high rank secured immunity from its doom. Diocletian had originally banned bloodshed, but milder measures were soon left behind. Civil revolts in outlying provinces were ascribed to Christian instigation, and a second edict swept the clergy, who were naturally held to be primarily responsible, into the prisons throughout the empire, so as—a parallel to affairs in “the days of Elizabeth”, when, as Professor Baynes reminds us (citing A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth*, 1906, p. 166), “the Catholics similarly filled the prisons of England”—to leave no room for condemned criminals (pp. 665 *sqq.*).

Professor Baynes, with some independence of judgement, makes a good case for the toleration and clemency of Diocletian. He notes that to the last he “strenuously resisted the introduction of a policy of repression, and yielded only on the condition that there should be no bloodshed”; that, in point of fact, the Emperor Constantine “as a Christian completes the work of his pagan instructor, that work which the bloody decade of persecution had interrupted”. Galerius is the villain of the piece; and it was only in A.D. 311, some six years after Diocletian had resigned the purple in his favour, that, “suffering from a horrible illness”, he issued an edict restoring the religious freedom of the early days of his predecessor (pp. 669 *sqq.*).

After all, we have, as has been said, dwelt only upon one aspect presented by the book, although we cannot but think that it is regarded in this aspect that its great value is to be found. Here the really vital issues of civilized humanity are propounded; here are revealed as critically at stake the possibilities belonging to the development of the *homo sapiens*. Doubtless there are involved all the cultural endowments of that wonderful period; wonderful because it sparkled with revelations of the Divine, and increasingly so to the end. Professor Rodenwaldt’s chapter, the ‘Transition to Late-Classical Art (XVI), touching briefly upon the quality of the paintings in the catacombs (p. 550), and, as a last word, emphasizing the Lateran Basilica, “probably the first large Christian ecclesiastical building”, as traditionally the *mater et caput omnium ecclesiarum*, is admirably illustrated in the *Fifth Volume of Plates*. We notice in particular the reconstruction of the interior of this basilica (p. 224b), which, when compared with the basilica of Maxentius (p. 224a), is expressive of the pre-romanesque sentiment that the vault was, as compared with the horizontal, coffered ceiling, something secular (p. 569).

An interesting discussion of the sacramental element in Christianity is to be found in Chapter XII (pp. 444 *sqq.*), where Professor Nock, of Harvard University, would explain the develop-

ment of this largely by the growing sense that the Second Advent was not to be expected so immediately as was at first supposed, and by the consequent consolidation of the Church in permanence as a definite sodality with its "ceremony of admission" and its "common meal of fellowship". The early converts from Judaism were for the most part of the Dispersion, Greek in thought and in language, and were prepared for a new association the sacramentalism of which was fundamentally international rather than local; while converts of pagan origin, whether of the Graeco-Roman, or the Egyptian or the Oriental type, would have felt that any religious cult which professed to take charge of human destiny must provide sensible channels whereby the intercourse between God and man might be maintained.

From the first the Church never lost sight of its distinctive mission to the poor, the unlettered masses, the common people. While it offered its fellowship to those who had no intellectual endowment at all, of the most cultured minds it demanded self-emptying as the first and indispensable act of faith. True: σοφίανδέ λαλῶνεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, but even these initiated, many of them, first drew breath, so to say, in the Subura, and for all there was but one common doorstep to the Church. It is significant that in times of persecution nothing was firmer than the endurance of these simple folk, young and old. There were renegades, but in the end the policy of frightfulness was beaten to the ground by people who were emphatically of "the masses" and not of "the classes" (p. 670).

It is difficult to tear oneself away from the subject as presented here. The equipment is most generously contrived. The bibliography, the plans, the maps—with their *blue* sea supplying the atmosphere of the *Mare Internum* in its most soothing mood! Above all, the volume of plates, so comprehensive as to illustrate Hadrian's Wall (p. 34), carvings from Chinese Turkestan (p. 132) and the sarcophagus of Helena (p. 228)! The portraiture, whether as mural reliefs, or on coins or in miniatures, is fascinating, and the architectural reconstruction, such as that of the *façade* of the Library at Ephesus (p. 118), and that of the interior of the Lateran Basilica (p. 224b) already mentioned, most informing and suggestive.

We lay this book down, our faith kindled afresh in that "Spirit-bearing Body", to recall a phrase of St. Basil—the Divine Indweller of which never wrought more marvellously than during the period of which it treats.

WATKIN WILLIAMS.

The Journals of Soren Kierkegaard. A selection edited and translated by Alexander Dru. (Oxford University Press, 25s. net.)

WE must congratulate Mr. Dru. Though ignorance of Danish makes it impossible for us to judge directly the fidelity of his translation it reads so well that we forget it is a translation. (We must, however, point out that "protagonist" does not mean "antagonist".) And if this large volume of more than 500 pages contains only a selection from the journals, how extensive must they be! Frankly, there is enough of the feelings and thoughts, even of a genius.

For a genius Kierkegaard certainly was and, moreover, a man devoured by a passion for God. Because he was a genius these journals are rich in profound insights. Because he was devoured by a passion for God his insights are predominantly religious. But he was a morbid genius, and he was not a saint. He was morbid because he was haunted by an obsession of guilt inherited from his father. Had he been a Catholic, and found the right spiritual director, his morbidity might have been cured. He would have been forbidden to brood over past sin, whether real or imaginary. He was also morbid in declaring holiness incompatible with health—though it must be admitted St. Bernard held the same erroneous view. And for all his religious passion he fell short of sanctity. For he was a proud man, proud even to megalomania.

"In Denmark I saw plainly from the first that I was superior to everyone." "No one in Copenhagen has loved or does love . . . the ordinary man with so unselfish and Christian love as I do." "There has hardly been a poet before me with an equally profound knowledge of life and in particular of religion." Try to imagine St. John-of-the-Cross or St. Francis de Sales saying such things. It is impossible. The truth is that Kierkegaard never forgot his own intellectual and spiritual superiority to "the rest of men". This, indeed, is one of the traits which renders Ibsen's Brand, suggested by Kierkegaard, unattractive in spite of his heroism. And Kierkegaard's attacks on Hans Andersen are painful.

Kierkegaard strikes us as a blend of Dostoevsky and Hurrel Froude. Can it be that the Danes, like the Germans, combine the "nordic" and the oriental? If Kierkegaard is at all typical of Danish thinkers they do. Another resemblance that struck us in reading the journals is that between this Dane of fact and the immortal Dane of fiction, Hamlet. There is Hamlet's melancholy, his pride, his bitter humour. And when Kierkegaard, having become engaged to Regina Olsen, only to discover he had no vocation for marriage, tried to destroy her love for him by breaking with her brutally and feigning not to care, we were reminded of Hamlet's

treatment of Ophelia. Happily, Kierkegaard's Ophelia, though she suffered terribly, ended not in madness but by marrying another man.

But for all the morbidity and the pride, Kierkegaard, as we said, was a man of profound insight. He saw that the Lutheran doctrine of faith had become a cloak for worldliness, faith in Christ's cross being held to dispense with the command to take it up and follow Him. He saw that Luther was muddle-headed, giped at his attacks on Christian asceticism and declared that Protestantism had been a source of confusion. Yet he was a long way from the Church. His attitude was too subjective. But though his religious individualism was excessive he was as justified in proclaiming the superiority of the individual to the state or race as he was prophetic in foreseeing the totalitarian claim of the latter. "Because the individual is created in the image of God the individual is above the race. . . . That is Christianity. And that is where the battle must be fought." As it is being fought in the Third Reich. "We are going to begin at another point, namely, upon the intensive development of the State itself." And this was written in 1847, in the heyday of nineteenth-century liberalism and *laissez-faire*. For Kierkegaard saw the inner emptiness of a liberalism fundamentally secular, whatever its outward profession of Christianity. He saw the empty niche from which God was already being dethroned and which the State idol was waiting to occupy.

In 1837, a few months before Victoria's accession inaugurated the era of optimism and progress, Kierkegaard was writing, "At the moment one is afraid of nothing so much as the complete bankruptcy towards which the whole of Europe seems to be going and so we forget what is far more dangerous, the apparently unavoidable spiritual bankruptcy which is at our doors." If not a saint, he was certainly a prophet. His emphasis on the value of freedom, and the part it plays in explaining—so far as it can be explained—God's permission of evil, is most illuminating. His attack on science, on the contrary, fails to distinguish between the sciences and the false philosophy put forward in the name of science.

Kierkegaard's relations with King Christian VIII are amusing. He regards a visit to the king as a form of mortification—a form which so many would gladly practice if they could! And when he did go to court he told his sovereign what mistakes he thought he had made. It strikes us that the latter was far humbler than Kierkegaard, though he must have shared to some extent his prophetic gift, since he was worrying about the spread of Communism.

E. I. WATKIN.

George Santayana. By George W. Howgate. (University of Pennsylvania Press; Humphrey Milford. 16s. net.)

MR. HOWGATE'S book will be welcomed both as a biography of Santayana's mind and as a valuable contribution to philosophic literature. The author traces the influences that have shaped Santayana's thought and serve as a guide to his writings, which are abundantly quoted, from his early poetry, through his critical essays, to his more recent metaphysical studies.

Santayana is frankly eclectic, ranging from Plato's ideal forms to Auguste Comte's religion of humanity. He began his career as a staunch classicist bitterly opposed to romanticism in all its forms, and his striking analyses of the great exponents, including Shakespeare, Emerson, Browning and Dickens, in "Interpretations of Poetry and Religion" are well illustrated by Mr. Howgate.

"Learn to love, in all things mortal, only what is eternal." These words, from one of the Odes, are selected for Mr. Howgate's title page as characteristic of Santayana's poetic idealism. The evident poet in Santayana has always taken full advantage of the licence permitted to his class, though while treating the mood of the moment as exclusive he never carries any principle to its extreme, so that diverse moods may find equal expression in their turn.

He gloried in his individualism, and urged the intensification of the rational life of the individual rather than the benefit of the community. Even solipsism attracted him. A man's chief need, for the triumph of reason, was knowledge of himself. The individual alone is the sole judge of what shall be his ideal, and this must be a synthesis of impulses already afoot, and avoid all moral codes imposed from without. Life should be art, the best instrument of happiness. The artistic is the beautiful, the true function of which is the idealization of experience and of nature, and the highest example of this kind of poetry is religion in its inmost truth. Santayana retains throughout all phases of his disillusionment and his recurrent optimism his native Spanish sense of tradition, and seems to have found comfort in an inward assurance that he could never finally escape from the framework of Catholicism. Nevertheless, he tends ever to his own form of other-worldliness and individual detachment, having little faith in social means of human progress. He claims to find in the spiritual realm of metaphysical ideas, or essences, a perfection which he had vainly sought in the Church, in nature and in reason; though to many it may yet seem that these very ideas of perfectness have been made possible to us only by the intellectual light which the Catholic faith has cast upon man's immortal quality and capacity for supernatural development.

Indulging a sceptical mood, Santayana elects to find a "sceptical approach" to ideal essential reality, on lines suggested by Descartes, Hume and Kant, deciding that after scepticism had said its last word there still remains open to us the unlimited world of truth and beauty, the ideal essences which our nature determines us to treat as valid, the realm of infinite and eternal truth which transcends the visible existence of things, whose ideal relationships, like mathematical rules, are for ever true even if no human mind should happen to stumble upon them.

Yet Santayana prefers to be considered a materialist, dreaming of a time when the *psyche*, the vital principle, by some unknown impulse of the animal organism brought into play by the environment, transmutes mere consciousness into "spirit", the finest flowering of our nature, an epiphenomenon, indeed, but enabling the material mind to recognize these luminous "essences" which float into it from the ideal realm. "By the eye of spirit man can see the visible in its true setting of the invisible." All facts and objects in nature can take on opposite moral tints. When abstracted from our own presence and interests everything is reduced to mere essence. An ideal picked out of the infinite, something harmless, marvellous and pure. The vision of essences remains, in contrast to the things that pass away, upon which we set our hearts and about which we cannot take a long view without finding life sad and all things tragic.

In his poetic emotion, Santayana, escaping from pessimism, lent a glowing charm to that significant system of "universals" which scholasticism so often treats under the coldly static aspect. To be unworldly, in his sense, is to look upon the judgement of society, its prizes and its pleasures, with the serenity and sadness of one whose treasure is elsewhere and whose eyes have beheld the vision of better things . . . to live the life of reason, in the sight of the ideal. From his height of vision, Santayana assumed the rôle of an ironic spectator of ordinary life: "everything in nature is lyrical in its ideal essence, tragic in its fate and comic in its existence. . . . Time laughs at ambition, and Eternity laughs at time".

ARTHUR L. REYS.

The Glory of Martyred Spain. By Luis Carreras. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 6s.)

THIS translation of a book by a Spanish priest who escaped from Tarragona during the revolution deserves to be widely read. The aim of the author, although he has collected a very considerable dossier of atrocities, has not been to add to this sickening record.

He is concerned more with what he rightly describes as the glory of the Spanish martyrs. Considering the subject-matter of the book there is remarkably little bitterness in it. There are references "more in sorrow than in anger" to those who, against the main current of Catholic thought, could find nothing better to do in face of the Spanish tragedy than to inquire minutely what precisely constitutes a holy war and to discuss whether the term "martyr" could be applied with technical accuracy to those who lost their lives in the circumstances here described.

The idea sedulously circulated in this and other countries that the anti-Christian outrages in Spain were simply the expression of a natural discontent by the working-classes with a too-opulent Church simply will not bear examination in the light of the facts set down in this book. The Spanish bishops themselves have disposed of all this in moving language. What has been at work in Spain as in other countries at various times has been a fury of anti-religious feeling directed not against the abuses of religion but against religion itself. Only a diabolical hatred of the supernatural can explain the crucifixion of priests with obscene mockeries of the Passion and the outrages committed against the Blessed Sacrament.

Although it is all stated with a remarkable restraint it is a relief to turn from these things to the real theme of the book. Here is one incident among many. At the Benedictine priory of El Pueyo, in the province of Barbastro, eleven monks, eleven novices and six lay-brothers were invited to deny their faith and save their lives. Before they were shot the Prior asked permission to recite the prayers for the dead. This was granted and as he prayed his fellow-victims all joined in the responses. Finally, he gave them the absolution *in articulo mortis*. *The Glory of Martyred Spain* is at once a depressing and an inspiring book. The Spanish War is over and its wounds have to be healed, but there are some things that cannot, and should not, be forgotten. They belong to the permanent history of the Church's fight with "spiritual wickedness in high places".

R. J. D.

England and the Continent. By Carlo Scarfoglio. (Putnam. 7s. 6d. net.)

Three Men Tried. By Edgar Stern-Rubarth. (Duckworth. 12s. 6d. net.)

Peace With Gangsters? By George Glasgow. (Cape. 7s. 6d. net.)
WHEN Robbie Burns prayed, "O wad some power the giftie gie us" he was mistaken if he thought that "to see oursel's as ithers see us" would be an unwelcome gift. On the contrary, it is the most

fascinating peep-show that has ever been devised to conjure money from the pockets of the curious, particularly when a whole nation is arraigned, because then we can appropriate all the nice things to our individual selves and pass on the offensive remarks to our less-likable friends and neighbours.

Signor Scarfoglio's book should have a great sale, especially among English Catholics. He accuses the English of being self-righteous and attributes this national characteristic to their Protestant upbringing. This will enable his English Catholic readers to accept all the bouquets (there are not many) and at the same time to indulge *their* self-righteousness by thanking Providence that they are not as the rest of their Protestant fellow-countrymen. What could be more delightful? Signor Scarfoglio's thesis is well known and has been popular amongst us for a long time. It is only when he develops and illustrates it, as he does in his first chapter, that we begin to have misgivings; there are so many exceptions to his rule. Other nations are Protestant, without being self-righteous; and although Signor Scarfoglio would not admit that any Catholic nation is self-righteous, he does say that self-righteousness has a messianic note and that "genuine Imperialism *must* be messianic"—and there have been Catholic empires in the past, and may be again. The whigs, of course, are the nucleus of this Protestant-born self-righteousness—that, again, is according to tradition; but Signor Scarfoglio's conception of his thesis compels him to place the Tories in the opposite camp, that is to say, still Protestant but not self-righteous; and the Tories constitute a not inconsiderable part of this nation. But the Tories, according to our author, are not really representative Englishmen, an opinion that I should hesitate to express in the Conservative or the Carlton Clubs. This is one instance of how Signor Scarfoglio forces his facts into the mould of his theory; another is the surprising rôle that he assigns to Oliver Cromwell in the development of the British Empire. Anyone can write history after this fashion, and Signor Scarfoglio's later chapters are of no consequence, because we know before we begin them that they will prove, to the author's complete satisfaction, that the Englishman's chief political characteristic is a messianic self-righteousness.

But what of the theory? Curiously enough, Herr Stern-Rubarth discusses it, too, but not in connection with England. He is discussing the age-long antagonism between the French and the German peoples, and he attributes it to their respective application of the "chosen people" theory. "French national pride is based upon the genuine conviction that France is foremost in all walks of life, is in fact intended to be a torch to guide the rest of the world." Germans, on the other hand, he says, "lay claim to a

moral or spiritual domination of the rest of the world". The conclusion seems to be that every national ethos is, in one form or another, messianic, and the only question to be decided is why one form should be more objectionable than another. My own contribution to this debate is to suggest that the Englishman's unpopularity is due to the fact that, unlike the Germans, he does not "lay claim" to any superiority: he assumes it as axiomatic and needing no proof. One has to admit that nothing can be more galling, and one need not look beyond this exasperating affectation for the reason why Continental nations so dislike us.

Herr Stern-Rubarth, however, is not greatly concerned with such psychological differences. He is concerned to tell the story, from his own knowledge and his personal contacts with the three men, of the sustained and heroic attempts that Austen Chamberlain, Briand and Stresemann made to lift Europe from the pit of despair and fear that the War and the Treaty had dugged for her. The attempt, as we know, failed; but in spite of its tragic ending the story is strangely moving. The three men were so utterly different, in their upbringing, their mode of life, their outlook, and their personal contacts; yet they got to know and respect each other, even—the word does not seem too strong after reading this book—even to love each other. We feel that Herr Stern-Rubarth's story cannot end here; what has been done before can be done again—*must* be done again if Europe is to live. And even if the time of redemption is not at hand, even if we must still endure manufactured fear, suspicion and hate, this, at least, we can say, that Herr Stern-Rubarth has done more to secure the ultimate peace of Europe than Signor Scarfoglio has done to destroy it—and that is saying a good deal.

The third book on my list is just journalism. That is not said in any derogatory sense, but to emphasize the fact that even before these words appear in print the book is out of date and its pleas of no avail. For the argument is this: in a world of aggression, force is the only arbitrator; victory goes to the big battalions. But they need not be used in order to produce their full effect. Therein lies the test of political strategy; "shadow" warfare is costly but not destructive; real warfare is both costly and destructive, and should if possible be avoided. There is much worldly wisdom in the argument, but for it to be successful it must make two assumptions: first, that your opponent will accept your statistics, and secondly, that he will draw the wise conclusion from them; that he will, like the king in the parable, "sit down and think whether he be able, with ten thousand, to meet him that, with twenty thousand, cometh against him".

S. J. G.

European Civilization: Its Origin and Development. Vol. VII.
The Relations of Europe with Non-European Peoples. By various contributors under the direction of Edward Eyre. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 21s. net.)

THE scope of this, the final volume of the Oxford History of European Civilization, is truly encyclopedic. The share of each nation of Europe in the expansion of European culture round the globe is described, and the methods each adopted and its degree of success estimated, in separate essays.

In 1516 Luther launched the Reformation which, within two decades, was to split Christendom into the welter of nationalistic states that remain to this day. From that year, then, may be dated the expansion of Europe. It may be objected that the expansion was by then some twenty-five years old, having begun with the voyage of Columbus in 1492. But this is not the case. The first phase, before 1516, was the expansion of Catholic Christendom, an entirely different thing to Europe, which supplanted it and finally crushed it to the wall. In the one the primary consideration was the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and material gain, in spite of lapses of individual officers, was regarded only as the means of financing this, whereas in the other the sole consideration was the lining of the pockets of individual merchants by the quickest means. To the Spanish and Portuguese crowns the "native" was a subject whose soul was in their care; to the English and Dutch trading companies he was an object of profit or an enemy to be exterminated. To achieve their aim the Spaniards segregated the Indians either in *encomiendas* or mission settlements. Here, removed from contact with vice, disease and alcohol, he was trained in various trades and taught Christianity by the *encomendero* and his chaplain, or by the missionaries alone. Much abuse has been poured upon the forced labour of the *encomienda* system, and its Brazilian derivative the *aldeia*, but it is justified by the results. Contrast the millions of self-supporting Indian citizens in the different republics of Latin America with the handful of wretched, dole-supported, drug-ridden survivors of the once teeming nations of the northern continent. *Their* ancestors were spared the horrors of forced education and tyrannical protection against the white man's firewater. Instead, hunted as Canaanites by the New England Puritans (described by W. C. McCleod in happy phrase as having "wiped away their Christianity and become a peculiar sect of heretical Israelites in whose doctrines there was but a tincture of Pauline theology"), they were driven ever more relentlessly westwards into the wilderness. Slain by rifle, alcohol and disease, they were practically an

extinct race by the time the hostile civilization reached the Pacific coast.

The true historical value of these essays can be gauged from the praise one and all bestow on the missionary as the sole vehicle of culture. The consensus of opinion is concisely voiced by J. Thaurén in his essay, "Germany's Relations with Africa": "(On contact with Europeans) the old culture supported by animism and superstition broke down. The modern civilization took from the Negroes the old without putting something in its place . . . but the mission brought also, together with the culture, the Christianity upon which this culture was founded" (p. 433).

It would be foolish to deny credit to the Protestant churches for their work in civilizing the native, but since their conscience only awoke a hundred years ago it is evident that the palm must go to the Catholic Church. Foremost in the missionary field was the Society of Jesus, whose achievements have somehow eclipsed the equally happy performances of the friars. The Franciscans and the Dominicans preceded the Jesuits in America, and in their heyday their mission settlements in Florida, Georgia and California were worthy rivals of those in Paraguay. In the east, in the Philippines, the Austin Friars took a prominent share, and outside the Catholic empires, in China, successful as the Jesuits were, they had not a tenth of the success of Friar John of Monte Corvino and the Franciscans two hundred years before.

Social, administrative and economic sections conclude the majority of the essays: the index is comprehensive and the maps really illustrate their respective periods. There is, perhaps, one complaint against this otherwise excellent book. Large as it is—it runs to over 1,200 pages—it is not possible to give more than the bare outlines except in cases of outstanding importance, so that bibliographies would have been welcomed to all the essays as they are now added to only some.

J. C. M-E.

Jonathan Swift, Dean and Pastor. By Robert Wyse Jackson, LL.D.
(S.P.C.K., 6s.)

It is a curious fact that while many books have been written about Swift, only one or two of them have dealt with his religious life; biographers have been too ready to take his words at their face-value when he was merely out to shock, and to assume that he was an insincere Christian, or even an atheist. This little book will, however, correct the balance, and it is probably true to say that no more penetrating study has so far been made of that weird, melancholy, humorous and fundamentally good-hearted clergy-

man. It is true, of course, that the opinion which many writers have formed of Swift is not altogether due to their lack of intelligence, and that, as Dr. Wyse Jackson points out, "it must be accounted a fault with Swift that his contempt of mankind and its opinion was such that he never exerted himself to correct this very obvious estimate". There is, however, abundant evidence that Swift was a deeply devout man, generous to the poor, and no unworthy figure in that grand line of high-churchmen who can be traced from Laud and Andrewes to Keble and Hurrell Froude. In the eighteenth century the flame was burning low, and it is interesting that the two most prominent examples should have been men of genius who were afflicted by constitutional melancholy, Jonathan Swift and Samuel Johnson. While Johnson's religion was unduly affected by his melancholy, so that he was constantly haunted by a morbid fear of death and judgement, this was not the case with Swift, who held that there was no reason for dreading anything as natural as death, and that men always tended to underestimate the mercy of God.

It is interesting to know that Swift celebrated the Holy Communion regularly, in an age when celebrations were all too rare, and an illuminating quotation is given from the memoirs of his friend, Mrs. Letitia Pilkington: "I was charmed to see with what a becoming piety the Dean performed that solemn service . . . another part of his behaviour on this occasion was censured by some as savouring of Popery, which was that he bowed to the Holy Table; however, this circumstance may vindicate him from the wicked aspersion of being deemed an unbeliever, since 'tis plain he had the utmost reverence for the Eucharist."

In some ways the most attractive chapter in this book deals with his life as a pastor, and the kindly though ferocious rule which he exerted over his poverty-stricken flock in the Liberty of St. Patrick's; he was no typical eighteenth-century ecclesiastic, shielded from the world in a comfortable library, but, "absolute Monarch of the Liberties and King of the Mob", as he described himself, he was constantly among his people, giving away at least one-third of his income in constructive charity, "saluted by all, and conscientiously returning the bows of his parishioners until he wore out his hats before their time". Though most of his parishioners must have been Catholics, they had a suitable respect for their Protestant shepherd: on one occasion a crowd had assembled to view an eclipse. Swift sent out a bellman to announce that the eclipse had been postponed by the Dean's orders. The crowd promptly dispersed. He also had his retinue of poor old beggar-women, his *seraglio* as he called them, to whom he showed constant kindness, and for whom he had invented names (pre-

sumably behind their backs), which were descriptive rather than polite: Stumpa-Nympha, without arms or legs; Cancerina, Stumpantha, and Pullagowna. As the author says, "he loved these simple souls very dearly indeed, and they loved him in their turn. For Dean Swift was a very wonderful pastor".

This fascinating book not only sheds much fresh light on an enigmatic and highly interesting character; it also gives an excellent picture of a little-known side of Irish life.

CLONMORE.

Edmund Burke: A Prophet of the Eighteenth Century. By Sir Philip Magnus, Bart. (Murray, 15s. net.)

SIR PHILIP MAGNUS sees Burke primarily as a great political thinker. It was his genius, he holds, which first gave shape and direction to what had formerly been little more than an inchoate mass of ideas floating in the English mind. He sought the living reality which lay behind the stuff of all politics, and he found it, derived directly from God, in the sentiment of nationality and in the race-consciousness of men. The nationality which Burke envisaged was not necessarily confounded with sovereignty. His race-consciousness comprehended all mankind. A deeply religious man, Burke's ideas of God, truth, charity, tolerance, chivalry and humanity informed all his political teaching, as they constituted the substance of his personal religion. Nevertheless, the author admits, of all the statesmen of his age Burke was probably the most deficient in the commonplace arts of political management and address. He was respected, but never regarded as a "safe" man for office. He never attained cabinet rank (not that he desired it): he was temperamentally unfitted for such distinction, and was, no doubt, fully conscious of the fact. His speech, his tantalizing brogue, his ungainly gestures, above all, his passionate and intemperate zeal made him an uneasy companion-at-arms for the casual-minded whigs. In this foreignness, this alienness, there is a point of comparison with Disraeli.

For the purpose of this biography the author has drawn on the hitherto withheld and valuable papers at Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton. We know now when Burke was born and when he was married, and a number of other facts and *minutiae* which were formerly matters of dispute and conjecture. Notes, bibliography and index all help to enhance the book's value as a work of reference.

The second chapter is concerned with the Burke family's money troubles. It makes sad reading. The author's profession, no doubt, accounts for the competent manner in which the tangled financial complications of the Burke family fortunes are unravelled.

It is like gazing at the Reynolds portrait and being surprised by the gradual and inexorable lifting of the dignified, seemly shadows on the canvas. In this cold light we discern the unmistakable outlines of a Hogarthian parable.

One is tempted to dwell on the irony implicit in this tale of a man who could with genius define the rules of life and law and governance, and yet made the most appalling blunders in commonplace dealings. The author of the *Sublime and the Beautiful* staggered the House of Commons—in the age of Fielding and Smollett, too—with metaphors and allusions of a most outrageous nature. If uttered by the more genial Fox they might have been regarded as characteristic, but Burke's Rabelaisian lapses appeared in disconcerting contrast to the solemn prophetic attitude which he adopted. These ironies, these contrarities, remind one that Burke might be treated by an imaginative writer much in the same way that M. Maurois treated Shelley in *Ariel*. Yet would an urbane and gently malicious insistence upon these points give us the true Burke? A very debatable point.

In any attempt to reach a final assessment of Burke's character and importance we should do well to remind ourselves of his own declared opinion that "it is better to run the risk of falling into faults in a course which leads us to act with effect and energy, than to loiter out our days without blame and without use".

ROBERT AUBREY NOAKES.

Mary Ward. By Ida Goerres Coudenhove. Translated by Elsie Codd. (Longmans, Green. 3s. 6d. net.)

Companions of Mary Ward. By Mother Mary Philip, I.B.V.M. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 6s. net.)

THERE is an old-world charm about the first of these biographies which makes the reading of it a most absorbing task. The authoress has succeeded to a remarkable extent in delineating the psychology of an English woman of the sixteenth century and the atmosphere in which she lived; her knowledge of the Continent, and especially of the kindly, hospitable Germany of a bygone age, is less surprising but adds greatly to the attractiveness of the work. She calls it "An Historical Romance" and does not hesitate to put in dialogue and impressions which are largely the product of her own imagination. The essential truth of the story is there, and this method of its telling makes of *Mary Ward* a living and reasonable human being. Her childhood is described, the home where priests said Mass at the peril of their lives, her early attempts to fulfil a religious vocation, the struggles of her small community to obtain recognition, their travels in all parts of Europe and

Mary Ward's final unmerited imprisonment in Munich. Her last days in her own country and her death are movingly described. Certain quite incidental descriptions are more moving still in view of recent events; for instance, this of Vienna in the early-seventeenth century, "The sky was vibrant with the loud clamour of a multitude of bells; across the Freyung the schoolboys came running to the College of the Scottish Benedictines. Monks from her own island had been the first to bring these people the Faith". The Schotten Gymnasium no longer exists and the "Englische Fräulein" are no longer permitted to continue in Vienna the task for which Mary Ward founded them.

Mother Pary Philip gives a more systematic, brief account of the foundress and her work and adds short biographies of the seven young women who, in the first fervour of their new-found vocation, accompanied her to St. Omer in 1609. This separate treatment helps to bring out the distinctive character of each one, though it necessarily involves a certain amount of repetition. That may easily be forgiven in one who is describing such beautiful lives. The authoress seems to have a particular affection for the last of them, Mary Poyntz, who laboured for England's conversion from her sixteenth to her seventy-third year.

EDWARD QUINN.

Theobald Wolfe Tone. By Frank MacDermot. (Macmillan, 15s. net.)

AN ingenious writer could, no doubt, give us some sort of psychological explanation for national heroes. One of the few witticisms attributed to Gladstone, I believe, was a reference to the incongruity of a *Life of Nelson* being sponsored and issued by a religious organization. Hero-worshippers have unusually selective minds. They overlook flaws in their idols' characters which to less sympathetic persons call for mention and explanation. Wolfe Tone has been the subject of many Irish panegyrics. He has been represented as consistently and continuously through life the incarnation of Irish national aims and spirit. What are the real facts of his career? An attempt to answer this question is made by Senator Frank MacDermot in his biographical study of Tone. It is curious to note that if Pitt had accepted his proposals for the colonization of Hawaii (Sandwich Islands) he might be remembered today not as an Irish patriot but as a pioneer of British imperialism. His career in Ireland was full of fluctuations and contrasts, and these inconsistencies, says Mr. MacDermot, whilst they do not prove that he was a mere self-seeker, do reflect his impatience, impair his authority, raise doubts as to his wisdom, and suggest

that fear of poverty and obscurity played a larger part than might be desired in moulding his thought and conduct.

For calling attention to these facts the writer will, no doubt, be accused by some of anti-Irish views. On the contrary, Senator MacDermot does service to the memory of Tone by getting behind the banalities of partisan legend, convincing only to unthinking enthusiasts, and placing before us a man whom we can all, whatever our nationality or politics, regard with affection and sympathy. He gives us the Tone whom his contemporaries knew; a man of great charm, persuasiveness and talent, richly endowed by nature, not for getting money or reputation in a civil profession or business, but for distinguished achievement in a wider sphere—arms, politics, letters, diplomacy, or administration.

In his essay on the pleasures of painting Hazlitt calls attention to the one great advantage the painter possesses over the writer. He can dazzle the spectator with an *instantaneous* impression, whereas a writer has to rely upon cumulative and gradually appreciated descriptive strokes. To understand the Ireland of the late eighteenth century it is necessary to have quite clearly in mind what is going on not only in England, but in France and America as well. Both the American and the French revolutions had a powerful effect upon the politics of Ireland; it has been said that Grattan is the product of the American revolution, and Tone the product of the French. Much of the value of this study lies in the fact that the author has done the next best thing to presenting us with the impossible—an *instantaneous* impression of Ireland and the world of Wolfe Tone. In France he came in contact with men like Grouchy, Hoche, Carnot, and, less intimately, Bonaparte. He touched men and movements of his day at many points.

Readers familiar with the less objective studies of other days, in which Pitt's Irish policy is described as the last word in Machiavellianism and Castlereagh writhes his way through the pages as a reptile disguising his venomous intentions beneath a surface charm of manner, will welcome this book in which justice is done to Tone and the men of '98, and, simultaneously, to the statesmen who, rightly or wrongly, saw in the political union of the two countries the only hope for Catholic emancipation.

ROBERT AUBREY NOAKES.

The Thirty Years War. By C. V. Wedgwood. (Cape. 18s. net.)

In this elaborate yet carefully balanced study of the Thirty Years War Miss Wedgwood has given us a historical work of the first importance. It is an admirably documented volume and the

complicated subject is approached in a most objective spirit. There is no doubt that it is indispensable to any general study of the first half of the seventeenth century. The detail is well-marshalled and the development of the politico-military situation is traced with clearness and in a style which is at once pleasant and economical.

The author's study of the leading characters of the period is both balanced and convincing. Among her best portraits are those of the Emperor Ferdinand II and of Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar. She is indeed generous in her treatment of all the members of the House of Austria. In regard to Wallenstein the author appears to be on less sure ground. There is a careful analysis of his moves and, as far as this is possible, of his intentions, but no very clear picture emerges. Perhaps Miss Wedgwood is wise to leave the Duke of Friedland thus nebulous.

No section of the book is more valuable than the relatively brief chapters which are concerned with the King of Sweden's intervention. It is a real pleasure to find in this scholarly and attractive work a study of Gustavus Adolphus which is so realist and so happily delivered from all hero-worship. No historian of the seventeenth century has Miss Wedgwood's qualifications for studying the French and the Swedish contributions to the development of the long conflict.

It is, however, a consequence of the possession of this dispassionate and cool talent that the author is less at ease when discussing the Thirty Years War in its religious aspects. The attitude of the Catholic leaders is conceived in terms which would have been familiar to the nineteenth-century writers on this subject. It is not that the influence of Catholicism is minimized but rather that it is by far too simplified.

Under this aspect *The Thirty Years War* would have been more valuable had it been the sequel to a profound study of the Tridentine polity which would have shown how much, beside the Catholic doctrine, the Wittelsbachs and Hapsburgs were bringing in their train. Few men of the early seventeenth century were less influenced by Tridentine concepts than Lord Strafford, who has been the subject of Miss Wedgwood's first biography. In no part of her present book does she suggest the inescapable character of the Tridentine polity.

The Thirty Years War is excellently produced and delightfully illustrated. It is also remarkably free from misprints. The genealogical tables are handy and well-constructed. Cinq-Mars was not a duke. The accounts of the war and of the various campaigns are full of interest. The author must be congratulated on the marshalling of a very careful and painstaking scholarship

which constantly controls a narrative remarkable for a sustained interest and for the broad sweep of its conception. This book should find a place in every library of modern history.

DAVID MATHEW.

Divided Christendom. By M. J. Congar, O.P. Translated by M. A. Bousfield. (Bles: The Centenary Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

The Church Universal and the See of Rome. By Henry Edward Symonds, C.R., B.D. (S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net.)

ANY serious intelligent Catholic who ignores Father Congar's "Catholic Study of the Problem of Reunion" will be making a grave mistake—no less so the non-Catholic. It is not easy reading, but it is imperative to make the effort of concentration required. It has surprises in store for both sides, surprises not due to any innovations on Father Congar's part but to our common ignorance or forgetfulness of certain aspects of the matters with which he deals.

The book's publication on the Continent was eminently an "event" and it was noticed in many English religious periodicals at the time, so that an extended examination is not called for here. It is sufficient to say that the chapters on the oneness and the catholicity of the Church are excellent discussions of religious fundamentals, and the whole book is packed tight with solid reliable instruction and examination. Father Congar displays an informed sympathy and understanding competence when dealing with the underlying theories of the oecumenical movement, with the Anglican conception of unity, and with Orthodox ecclesiology—though we are sorry that here he confines himself almost exclusively to a Russian school of thought. Catholics in particular can profit by a study of the chapter on the status of non-Catholic Christians, and all alike from a consideration of his outline for a practical programme, with its insistence on an eirenic attitude of mind, and reliance on the sources and on interior life.

Throughout the book Father Congar writes candidly but quietly and carefully: indeed, his determination not to exaggerate sometimes leads him into understatement, as when he says (p. 78, n.i), "In our Lord's teaching in face of the Pharisees we undoubtedly find the concern that 'authority' should not quench the 'spirit'." In Appendix IV he might have added to Pius IX's "*societati Graecorum schismaticorum*" the expression "Bishops of the Churches of the Eastern rite not in communion with the Apostolic See", used by that pope when inviting them to the Vatican Council.

A very suitable book for reading concurrently with *Divided*

Christendom is The Church Universal and the See of Rome, by the Reverend H. E. Symonds, of the Community of the Resurrection. Here we have a study by a very competent Anglican scholar of the historical relations between the general episcopate and the papacy up to the time of the tragic affair of Michael Cerularius in 1054, and one which shows considerable divergence from the opinions and judgements expressed by Dr. S. H. Scott in his *The Eastern Churches and the Papacy*: Father Symonds's conclusions are more in accord with those expressed by Dr. Kidd in *The Roman Primacy to A.D. 461*, reviewed in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1937.

The author has so far as possible gone to the sources, but he has made considerable use of Duchesne, Batiffol and Caspar, and takes due note of the researches of Amann, Dvornik and Jugie into the history of the schisms of Photius and Cerularius. His interpretations and judgements, argued with scholarship and put forward temperately, represent convictions that are widely held outside the Roman communion, and are of profound importance to those who seek the remedy for a divided Christendom, men of good will of whatever communion who in the words of Father Symonds, "with ever-growing expectation and desire, look to the fulfilment of the Saviour's prayer *ut omnes unum sint*, that they may be perfected into one flock beneath one shepherd. . . . And in their vision of the days to come they would see these apostolic pastors of the Church in every place gathered round the chief of all, their leader placed by Divine Providence in the Apostolic See of Rome".

D. D. A.

The New Testament: Cambridge Summer School Lectures, 1937.

Edited by Father Cuthbert Lattey, S.J.

The Old Testament: Cambridge Summer School Lectures, 1938.

With a Preface by Father C. Lattey, S. J. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 7s. 6d. each.)

The Book of Job. By Rev. E. J. Kissane, D.D., L.S.S. (Browne & Nolan, Dublin. 12s. 6d. net.)

Paul. By Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. (Coldwell. 8s. 6d. net.)

THESE volumes of Cambridge Summer School lectures seem to us in some respects the best of the series so far. The scholarship is there, also the presentation of it. A kindly critic remarked some time ago that the earlier volumes were of greater value since they gave one more to think about. But audience and readers constitute a different "public" when it is a question of lectures, and whether or not the hearers profited, readers most certainly should do so. It would be invidious to single out individual papers: we

can only note in the New Testament volume Father Lavery on the reason for the early persecutions, Doctor Arendzen with his suggestion that St. Luke must have spoken Aramaic, Mgr. Knox with fertile suggestions on the Acts of the Apostles (though is he right in calling the "Pauline" chapters a biography ?), Father Lattey urging the claims of memory in dealing with the Synoptic Problem and with a plea for Dibelius and Co., with their "form-narrative" speculations, and Father Kehoe, excellent on John the Presbyter, also in his study of critical views on the Fourth Gospel ; we enjoyed his idea that that gospel was too startling not to be accepted as the work of an apostle. But here is another problem : Why an appendix giving *The Times* article on Tyndale ?

In the New Testament volume all the papers are notable, some especially so, but we will not particularize—lest we give offence ! Looking back, however, on the series as a whole we cannot fail to be struck by the change that has manifested itself during these last years. Could anyone have foreseen ten years ago that such papers could be produced by the busy priests of England ? More : would anyone have dreamed that such papers would be appreciated by an English Catholic auditory ? One has the same impression when listening to the papers and discussions—very lively ones—at the Easter Conference of Ecclesiastical Studies. More remarkable still, this change seems particularly noteworthy in the realm of Biblical studies wherein we are generally supposed by our *confrères* on the Continent to be singularly backward. The work of Leo XIII, inaugurated in the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, has begun to bear abundant fruit, and for that we cannot be too grateful. It is sad to note that death has deprived us of two of the contributors to the second volume, Archbishop Goodier and Father Eric Burrows. In the last named Catholic England has lost one of her two Assyriologists.

The other two volumes named above are also of interest. In his *Job*, translated, with a commentary, from a critically revised Hebrew text, Dr. Kissane has made a bold venture and has, so far as we can see, succeeded. The introduction is admirable, though he is brief on the question of the date of the book, perhaps wisely. We never feel happy when we see it stated that the question of individual responsibility is of comparatively recent date in the evolution of Hebrew thought ; but it is a comfort to find some one not afraid to label many of the views of "surgical" critics "frivolous", and we heartily endorse the statement that "From the very nature of the case, the fact that a passage is obscure or unintelligible is rather against the probability that it is a gloss." Each "speech" or section is followed by a brief but

practical commentary. Alas ! there is no index, though we confess it would have been difficult to make one. One naturally turns to the famous passage, xix, 25-27, to see how it fares at Dr. Kissane's hands. Here is his rendering : "And I know that my Defender liveth, and the Eternal will stand forth on the dust ; and after my skin is stripped off, did I but see Him, without my flesh were I to behold my God, He whom I should see would be on my side, and whom my eyes should behold would not be estranged." This we must leave to the experts !

At the title page of Father Lattey's book we gasp : "Paul". Poor St. Paul. It is some relief to find that Chapter VI is entitled "The Saint", but we cannot help thinking of the heckler who insisted on speaking of "Paul" *tout court*, till his Catholic opponent suggested that he might at any rate compromise by calling him "Mr. Paul". All that, however, is by the way. This compact book dealing with Paul, Christ, the Church, and the Christian, deserves Dr. Husslein's encomium, "Infinite riches in a little room." It may be well to note that Part IV, The Christian, does not refer to St. Paul as a Christian, but to his teaching on Christian life as summarized in the doctrines of original sin, justification, baptism, crucifixion, grace, Christ within and Christ without. The book is somewhat didactic, but then it is dedicated "To my Disciples Past, Present, Future".

F. H. P.

The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By William Leonard, D.D., D.S.Sc. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 12s. 6d. net.)

DR. LEONARD is certainly to be congratulated. Of course he has not *proved* that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews ; he would be the first to repudiate such a notion. His aim is to show that "there is solid external and historical evidence and strong positive internal evidence for the Pauline origin of the Epistle". This chapter deals with the theology, literary form and Scriptural material of the epistle ; chapters v-vi, with the vexed question of the way in which the author quotes Holy Scripture, while the final chapter discusses "the exegetical processes of 'Hebrews' and the Paulines". Two appendices present in tabulated form the *Hapax legomena* of the epistle and the formulae used in citations. The section on the theology reveals "the enormous amount of thought common to Hebrews and St. Paul . . . there is no teaching which excludes the viewpoint of the Pauline Epistles". Chapters ii-iii, pp. 107-218, offer a minute and laborious examination of the literary form adopted : "Under none of the headings : vocabulary, phraseology, sentence-building . . . have grounds been discovered to establish a verdict contrary to

the tradition of Pauline authorship." Incidentally, the relation between Philo and Alexandrian thought on the one side and the character of *Hebrews* on the other is examined in detail. So far results may be described as negative: they merely show that there is nothing opposed to Pauline authorship.

But Dr. Leonard has to face the fact that the style of the epistle differs *toto coelo* from that of the recognized Pauline letters. He rejects the view that the author was one who digested and presented the Apostle's ideas in elegant form. He would suggest instead that St. Paul—accustomed to dictate his letters, whence their rugged style—on this occasion used an amanuensis in collaboration "with St. Paul predominant". There follows an interesting section on the Bible—"the whole Alexandrian Bible"—used by the author. Then comes what most will regard as the crucial question—the method of citation of the Old Testament. Was it so different from St. Paul's usage that he cannot have been the author? Was it, again, so absolutely "Alexandrian" that some Alexandrian Christian must have written the epistle? Lastly: does the method betray quite a different sense of the value of the Old Testament, that is, of its inspiration, so that the author of the Pauline epistles and of *Hebrews* cannot be one and the same? We must leave the reader to discover Dr. Leonard's answer to these conundrums.

We cannot praise this work too highly. The author shows a real gift for weighing evidence, and the amount of study he must have devoted to his task is impressive. There are certain expressions we dislike, e.g. "Paulines" for St. Paul's acknowledged epistles, also "Paulinity"—surely a new coinage! Even worse! "unPaulinity"! And why "Lucianean" instead of the time-honoured "Lucianic"? There are a few awkward constructions, e.g., "the strongly perceivable colour . . ." (p. 110). But these are but minor blemishes in a work of great merit. F. H. P.

Body and Spirit. Essays in Sexuality. By André Berge, Xavier de Lignac, Théo Chentrier, the Abbé Monchanin, Benoît Lavaud, O.P., Pierre Henri Simon, Gustave Thibon, Peter Wust, Daniel Rops. Translated by Donald Attwater. (Longmans, Green. 7s. 6d. net.)

Love, Marriage and Chastity. By E. Mersch, S.J. (Sheed & Ward. 2s. 6d. net.)

"SERMONS and instruction on this subject seem far too frequently to confine themselves to cries of alarm", writes Father Mersch. Negativism in morals is responsible for a multitude of evils; and apart from its effects, it lacks the integrity of truth. Heartening then to find these two books both setting out to give an account

which is essentially positive; and which shows how the things which the Church condemns are condemned, not because they are the fruit of human passion or human love, but because they do violence to human passion and human love. "In the strict meaning of the words", writes M. Thibon in his fine essay on "The Senses and the Spirit", "none of our acts are either spiritual or sensible, but they are all *human*." It is in that truth that both these books find the natural foundation of the Christian attitude towards the sexual life of man. Nor, in treating of marriage, have they been beguiled by a common tendency—due no doubt to reaction against a prevalent social irresponsibility—to exaggerate the importance of procreation to the detriment of that other purpose of marriage which, in the words of *Casti Connubii*, "may truly be called even the primary cause and reason of marriage": the personal union of self-giving, the companionship and mutual aid, which form the only natural basis for happy family life. (It is interesting to note in passing that the passages in this sense in the encyclical were omitted from certain English translations.)

The first of these books, then, deals with the sexual life of man, not as a purely animal thing, but as it really is, as a *human* thing. An excellent chapter on education, including a sound criticism of the negativist attitude, and a useful examination of Freudian teaching, on the lines of Dalbiez's book; these lead up to the discussion of sex and personality in general, of the fallacy underlying the reduction of sexual morality to a question of hygiene, of marriage as a social institution, of the meaning and value of sublimation in the light of men's psycho-physical unity. There follows a most stimulating essay on woman's metaphysical mission, and, finally, an examination of the judgement passed by sexuality itself upon our treatment of it. These essays were well worth translating, and are well worth studying. The translation, apart from the rather unfortunate subtitle, which seems to suggest practical experiment rather than scientific research, is idiomatic and virile.

Father Mersch's book is less happy in its style, but will also repay study. Beginning with the "praise of love", it discusses marriage on the lines already indicated, and thence goes on to deal with celibacy on similar lines: the counsels are "not primarily renunciations; they are preferences"; celibacy is not, or ought not to be, "apathy and indifference", for "if it were a mere restriction, it would be a dead loss".

M. Thibon finds indications today that "the dregs of negative asceticism are disappearing and that the synthesis of 'inward Catholicism' is by so much the nearer". Both these studies are happy proof that his optimism is not unjustified. G. V.

- Child Guidance.* By M. D. M. Dickson. (Sands. 5s. net.)
Moral Problems of Mental Defect. By J. S. Cammack, S.J.
(Burns Oates & Washbourne. 7s. 6d. net.)
Self Improvement. By Rudolf Allers, M.D., Ph.D. (Burns
Oates & Washbourne. 5s. net.)

HERE are three books by Catholics on different aspects of that many-faced subject, psychology. The best of them is certainly the one by Mr. Dickson on Child Guidance. He writes with the enthusiasm and knowledge born of intimate working—contact with his subject, acquired at the clinic which was started and is directed by a nun of the Notre Dame Training College in Glasgow—to her eternal credit. He describes the parts played by the team of three—psychiatrist, psychologist and social worker—in a clinic of this kind, and the kind of problems they have to deal with. Particularly good is his exposition of “play-therapy”, which has come to be the most important part of the technique in dealing with neurosis and behaviour problems in children. Those who still think that child guidance is a part of “modern paganism” should read the last chapter, which replies to possible objections. Apart from its Catholic approach, this book is the best and simplest, and in fact the only, exposition of the subject that we know.

Father Cammack's book suffers from being a doctoral thesis and gives the impression of being written from the outside; nevertheless it is a brave attempt to get at the heart of a difficult problem, and provides a useful summary of authoritative, and often contradictory, views on the subject of mental defect, heredity, environment, and theological prolegomena.

It was perhaps in order to limit himself that he took the subject of moral defect as one of the main subjects of his study, although actually it is a very minor aspect of that conglomerate entity known as mental defect, and is a category which is practically out of date. Another chapter is devoted to moral imbecility, which is of historical interest only but is used to point out philosophical and psychological fallacies in the very concept of a disorder which could attack the moral faculties alone.

The book ends with an all too brief outline of the most modern theories of temperamental defect, perseveration, and “resonance” as helping to establish the true nature of so-called “moral defect”. Father Cammack is certainly to be congratulated on his initiative and originality, as well as on the extremely wide and varied reading which he has encompassed in preparing this stimulating thesis.

Dr. Allers, who is now professor of psychology at the Catholic University of America, some years ago wrote a book on the

Psychology of Character which was in many ways a profound and original synthesis of modern psychology and pastoral theology; but he seems to have drifted ever further from the field of the psychology of the unconscious—which means the most vital part of modern psychology—and become academic and didactic. The result is this latest book, which is a burden to read and appears to say very little that is new. This view, however, is simply that of the reviewer, and those who expect something good from Dr. Allers must judge for themselves.

C. L. C. B.

Book of Divine Prayers and Services of the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ. Arranged by Father Seraphim Nassar. (Syrian Orthodox Church, Spring Valley, Ill., U.S.A. \$5.)

The Orthodox Liturgy. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.)

FATHER SERAPHIM NASSAR, Syrian by birth and priest of the Orthodox Eastern Church in U.S.A., has successfully carried out, with the help of a religious sisterhood of which he is the president, an extensive and difficult work. It was no less than to provide in English a *vade mecum* for those who worship with the Byzantine rite according to the usages of the Melkites, "an unabridged prayer-book, unlike the compendiums which are now in use", which are very far from being complete.

The result is a clearly printed volume, of daunting dimensions for a "prayer-book", 1146 pages, crown 8vo. But it could hardly be smaller, seeing that Father Seraphim has provided a full service book for all Sundays of the year and a number of greater feasts, as well as numerous short notes and appendices.

The present writer knows of no other book like it (I am, of course, mindful of Father Abel Couturier's great work, but that was in French and in several volumes). Quite apart from the practical use at worship for which Father Seraphim intended it, the book will be most valuable for those who, having no Greek or Slavonic, yet want to know more about the text of Byzantine services than the "ordinary" of the three Liturgies. The translation on the whole is adequate, but it would have gained in reality and vigour by more elasticity and a less free use of "Romance" words; verbatim passages of the Bible are given in the A.V.

The great drawback to the book is that no Western Christian can follow the arrangement of the services without instruction. But this was inevitable. It may be possible for a stranger to "worry out", say, a Roman missal for himself, but it is not

possible to find one's way through the Byzantine service books without being shown how.

Some years ago Messrs. Burns Oates and Washbourne published an excellent inexpensive edition of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Greek text, with translation by the Dames of Stanbrook. The S.P.C.K., for the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, now gives us a translation, without Slavonic text, of the Chrysostom Liturgy, with the Basil variations inserted, according to the usages of the Russians.

It is a handy well-arranged little book which, but for the omission of the Archiereus of Rome from the diptychs, will be found most useful by Western Catholics at Byzantine celebrations. The translation has been very carefully done, by Russians and English in concert, but we find its manner a little too archaic, e.g., "Bid a blessing", "Saith"; nevertheless, we only wish current translations of the Roman Mass were anything like as good.

D. D. A.

The World Mission of the Church. Findings and Recommendations of the Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Tambaram, Madras, 1938. (International Missionary Council. 1s. 6d. net.)

DR. KRAEMER's *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, and Mr. Paton's *World Community*, written in preparation for the Madras meeting last December, were reviewed in our issue of October 1938. The present volume is compiled in the same spirit; and is similarly stimulating and moving. The report covers a wide field: faith, the nature and function of the Church, its inner life, the ministry, education, economics, Church and state, international society, co-operation and unity. To these general reports of various sections of the meeting are appended special reports dealing with particular problems and localities.

One lacks space, unhappily, to mention many valuable directives which these reports contain, on such subjects as diversity (of rite, custom, etc.) in unity, understanding of other religious faiths, the practical manifestation of Christian brotherhood, the home, the duty of the Christian in face of social distress and the need for social change, the Christian attitude to war, co-operative economic organization, and so on. Of the book as a whole it must be said that, while a very unsatisfactory section leaves the basic problem of unity of faith, and therefore of authority, unchanged, on the other hand one cannot but feel that the spirit of obedience to and trust in God, the spirit of sacrifice, and of fellowship in

charity, which animates the entire report, must draw down the blessing of God, and so bring nearer that day of unity which its authors, and not they alone, so deeply desire to see.

G. V.

Bernard's Brethren. By Charles Macmahon Shaw. With comments by Bernard Shaw. (Constable. 10s. net.)

"Book after book has been rushed from the world's presses until a bibliography of works about G. B. S. must fill half the British Museum Reading Room," says Mr. C. M. Shaw on page 3, and goes on to explain that he adds his mite to this pile partly because the Australian (and the English and American) public "eats" these books, but much more because of his "very real indignation at the stupid slanders that have been tacked on to the family's name". So he has written half a dozen and more chapters on the distant and not so distant forebears and immediate relatives of George Bernard Shaw, including his "favourite uncle", bringing them into relationship with their august successor.

That is really all that need be said. Obviously Mr. Charles Shaw is more competent than any outsider to judge whether or not his family name needs vindication: though it is surely true that in England (whatever may be the case in Australia, where Mr. Charles Shaw lived until recently) Bernard Shaw holds a unique position of affection and respect which no "stupid slanders" on the family name can impair.

But to write thus is perhaps to take the matter more seriously than does the author himself—and certainly more seriously than G. B. S., whose comments on Cousin Charles's MS. are printed on separate pages of this book in red ink.

L. E.

Heaven—and Earth. By John Middleton Murry. (Cape. 10s. net.)

THIS book sets out "to reveal the actual growth of the modern world through the minds of some great men who experienced in act or imagination the travail of its becoming": Chaucer, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Cromwell, Milton, Rousseau, Goethe, Godwin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Marx and Morris. But it is not an historical survey merely; it seeks to show that the one distinctive motive force of our civilization has been Christianity; that there is a causal nexus between St. Paul and the Machine—here, one feels, there is insufficient recognition of the anti-Christian divorce of religion from economics, largely due to Calvinism, which caused the very un-pauline deflection of pauline

energy ; finally, that unless we re-build Christendom, ceasing to succumb "to the devilish delusion that we can destroy Destruction", and recognizing that "Satan can never cast out Satan. There is only one way, the way of Love" and that Christians must "love, instead of pretending to love", there can be no salvation for the earth.

Individual chapters are rich in suggestion. Sometimes one feels that the exigencies of the thesis have caused a somewhat unfair evaluation : that the influence of Rousseau, for example, is not adequately weighed if his Pelagianism and political pantheism are excluded ; or that of Marx, if sociological vision is viewed in abstraction from materialist determinism—and this is true even where, as here, there is question less perhaps of material omission than of inequality of emphasis, and discussion not of a static *fait accompli* but of a dialectic. Mr. Murry is at his surest in dealing with the poets. It is in the self-sacrifice of the poet Morris that he sees the accomplishment of the full circle from Chaucer : the re-discovery of what was lost by the Church of Chaucer's day. And yet one cannot help feeling that the circle is far from complete where Mr. Murry leaves it : that the circle is not from Chaucer to Marx-Morris, but, let us say, from Chaucer to Cardijn. The thought indeed is suggested by Mr. Murry himself. Salvation will not come from a people using the weapons of violence and hate. It will come from the people, but when and only when they have found and lived the truth that "there is but one way, the way of Love". "That is what men need : to be conscious of their own nothingness, and to be renewed by the experience of the grace of God through Christ." That is the completion of the circle, because that is the spirit of Chaucer's Parson ; and it is to be found not in the materialist proletarian messianism of Marx, but in the christocentric proletarian messianism of Cardijn. Too many of us, Christians, have to confess today that we have failed, not merely to co-operate with, but even to recognize, the immensity of this new phenomenon. This study should help us. G. V.

The Lawless Roads. By Graham Greene. (Longmans, Green. 10s. 6d. net.)

Robbery Under Law. By Evelyn Waugh. (Chapman & Hall. 10s. 6d. net.)

Décor against which to re-read the letter of Pius XI to the Mexican bishops. That is one reason why this book is of peculiar interest. The author travels from Laredo through Monterey, San Luis Potosi, to Mexico City ; thence a perilous crossing of the Gulf of

Mexico on a ramshackle and squalid barge leads him (but not as easily as it sounds) to Palenque and Las Casas and Tuxtla, and so back to Mexico City again.

It is no ordinary travel-book. Quite apart from the interest of the events themselves—the perils by water, the perils by land, the perils by air—the skill with which the book is written makes it memorable; and what emerges so clearly, and is of such value, is the effect of physical upon spiritual atmosphere in general, and the characters of those with whom the author came in contact, whether Spaniards, Indians, or lost men of other nations, in particular. The mixture of religion and superstition, of deep fervour and of apathy; the presence alike of priests of the heroic mould of Father Pro, and of sacerdotal gold-diggers cashing in on the situation; the anti-God exhibitions and the piety of Indians robbed of God; these and other contrasts are vividly drawn.

It is a book that can be read more than once; for it describes, with humour and colour and grace of style, much more than the physical features of a little-known land. The photographs are on the whole disappointing, though some are a helpful addition to the text.

Mr. Waugh pursues a different purpose. For him, Mexico is the writing on our own wall; he discusses its history and its present condition with an eye to pointing the moral. He has marshalled his facts with care and thoroughness; his apologia for the Church is convincing, his exegesis of the attack on the *hacienda* system, and of the oil expropriations, cleverly done. But one cannot help feeling that there is a certain *simplisme* here. How, indeed, should it be otherwise? For a few months' acquaintance and study may be sufficient to acquire a sound knowledge of the externals, the facts; and that is the time when it is dangerous to make judgements. It is easy to pass judgement on the goodness or badness, the success or failure, of men's rationalizations of their desires; it is very much harder to understand those desires themselves, especially where one is concerned with a people whose habits of mind and whose background are so different from one's own. What does the superficial marxist terminology correspond to in the soul of Mexicans?—that is the real question. Mr. Waugh tells us that he went to Mexico a Conservative, with all the preconceptions of his political theory (and there are elements in his version of that theory which are a trifle surprising) firmly established; and he thinks it humbug to suppose that he could judge of what he saw except through the spectacles of these preconceptions. That no doubt is true; but it does not seem to have occurred to him that there are different levels of thought and conation, and that it is not the most apparent which are the

most interesting or the most important, or that a superficial dishonesty of the most glaring type is sometimes compatible with a deeper honesty, or that the behaviour even of politicians such as he describes is conceivably more to be explained sometimes by stupidity and ignorance than by unrelieved wickedness.

G. V.

Rainer Maria Rilke. Aspects of his Mind and Poetry. Edited by William Rose and G. Craig Houston. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 6s. net.)

If, as I. A. Richards holds, the joy of poetry arose from "the resolution of complexes", and if, moreover, poetry were the best means to this end, then few men would have been more justified than Rilke in seeking ultimate salvation in it.

Rilke's inner life was one of acute and endless conflict, and although the passing of years brought a certain measure of tranquillity, it never brought him, as some commentators have claimed, the relief of final resolution. So turbid with unresolved contraries was his own mind that it is not surprising that he continually sought solitude, and even regarded his marriage as a means of fortifying it.

The fundamental conflict was that of life and death. His attempt at solution was that "if a man possesses the power to shape his living experience, he also has the power to shape his ultimate experience, which is death. . . . He must consequently see to it that he takes an active share in determining the form of this ultimate experience, that he does not die merely the death which is the usual conclusion of a particular disease, being something which is outside his own inner nature, having no relation to his own inner self. The death he dies . . . must be essentially personal".

Yet the power to shape our destiny merely raises another conflict for Rilke. The fourth elegy of the *Dinneser Elegien* puts forward the view that "it would be better if we had been denied the limited measure of free-will which we possess. For then the action would be proper as between angel and puppet, actor and acted. Then the course of whatever happened could be run completely and we, who by our very presence disunite, should not be in the way any longer". The same elegy declares that "for our every feeling, desire and intention there exists, inevitably, something contrary. We are at home in enmity. Backgrounds of contrasts are our essentials".

Even a refuge other than poetry was denied Rilke. For long he contemplated being psycho-analysed. But the choice for or against

was the ground of further conflict, lest with the driving out of the devils the angels should be driven out also.

Again hydra-headed conflict showed itself in poetic theory. "On the one hand it demanded the fulness which comes from living in the imagination, from yielding to every impression, and in this it recalls the Romantics with their eager quest of emotions and their belief in the unique nature of the poet's calling." On the other hand Rilke feels the force of "Mallarmé's conception of the ideal poem as something absolute in itself and free from the private tastes of the maker".

Rilke's mother "taught him to kiss in particular the mark of the nails in the figure on the crucifix, as a means of vivifying his sense of Christ's physical sufferings". Later he left the Church, became the neurotic of the semi-autobiographical *Malte*, and left behind him what might have been the only resolution of his conflicts—the dogma of original sin.

This is the mysterious figure which emerges from this book of diverse but remarkably harmonious essays.

ERNEST MOSS.

I Knock at the Door. By Sean O'Casey. (Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net.)

My Story. By Paddy the Cope. (Cape. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Rising. By Myrtle Johnston. (Murray, 7s. 6d. net.)

Of the two autobiographies far the better, to my mind, is that of the man who had hardly set pen to paper until, late in life, in deference to Æ's wishes, he began to jot down "on odd scraps of newspaper and penny pass-books" the story of the Templecrone Co-operative Society. A brave story it is, and to those acquainted with Horace Plunkett's long struggle to encourage "better farming, better business, better living" the book will be of particular interest. But perhaps its permanent value, as certainly its charm, lies rather in its vivid picture of a typical rural community in the north-west of Ireland. No other I know describes the life of such a community with so much accuracy, intimacy and humour. With the utmost simplicity Mr. Gallagher writes of the one-roomed cottage in which he was born; of the family holding (two acres of reclaimed bog and eighteen of wild mountain; of daily work in the fields; of the bonfires which still blaze on the hills each St. John's Eve; of the nightly gatherings for singing, dancing and story-telling while the elder women spun and carded wool for clothes; of the school, when the master "a grand man with more devilment in him than all the scholars" taught his boys to box, trap and "handle themselves". For food they had porridge and oatbread, a rare red-herring, potatoes and

"dippety" (milk flavoured with salt); for drink, tea—this just ceasing to be a luxury—with milk from their one cow or given by kindly neighbours. ("There never was a pennyworth of milk sold in Clundra, and I hope there never will be.")

We read of the lad's departure when ten years old to be hired out to a farmer in a more prosperous district; and how he tramped home again six months later with "a halfpenny clay for my father, a pair of rosary beads for my mother and threepence worth of sweets for my sisters"—his only expenditure, it would seem, out of his £3 wages. Later came work as a migratory labourer in Great Britain, the departure of three sisters to America, marriage, final return to Ireland, purchase of a small farm and the beginning of co-operation in the Rosses. This last item apart, it might be the story of any one of the thousand boys then or now.

Very different in subject matter and treatment are Sean O'Casey's recollections of his own childhood. Poverty indeed is his also; but it is the sordid poverty of a semi-genteel family in a Dublin tenement house. Told simply and unaffectedly, this tale of a half starved, half blind boy, to whom only his mother showed affection or ordinary human decency, might have been very beautiful; for the late Mat Talbot's life showed convincingly that kindness, courage, saintliness are to be found as readily in city slums as on remote hill-sides. Unhappily the author is one of that now fashionable school which deliberately prefers ugly things, vulgar words, and a diffuse, mannered and artificial style. Though one has no reason to doubt the essential truth of it all, Sean O'Casey, the adult playwright, keeps coming between us and the child Johnny, so that one is left wondering how much is remembered, how much inserted to display to writers talent and worldly wisdom.

The Fenian rising of the sixties was a wretched affair, ill-conceived, ill-equipped and ill-directed. Yet from it Miss Johnston has made an admirable novel, swift and full of passion and of insight. But in any new edition certain historical errors should be corrected, such as that which represents one of the leaders as having previously served in the Irish Guards, a regiment first formed at the beginning of the present century.

H. A. L.

Pilgrims Were They All. By Dorothy Brooke. (Faber & Faber. 12s. 6d. net.)

A BOOK cannot fail to be interesting which deals objectively with the fourth century: the century which begins with the edict of toleration for Christians in 311 and is rounded off with the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410; the first century of Christian

liberty, the last of the western Roman empire ; when the Church took possession of the fabric of society. Everything was in the melting-pot, and the pot was boiling merrily, throwing up weird and wonderful persons and things. Into this century our author invites us to consider four of its phenomena.

1. The Ascetics : otherwise known as the Fathers of the Desert. The crowding of the desert was a phenomenon which excited much admiration, no little scandal, and some amusement, among contemporaries. The same, perhaps in the reverse order, would seem to be its effects on students of that period today. Certainly for those who have read of St. Jerome's adventure in the desert the glamour of the thing has departed, to be recaptured occasionally in Breviary Lessons by naïveties about lions and ravens.

2. The Pilgrim : Etheria. The lady is known by several variants of her name, and by many titles, including that of saint. She is the first Christian globe-trotter, a pious pilgrim, whose curiosity was equal to her piety—fortunately : for else her story had been duller.

3. The Heretic : Pelagius, against whom as a Britisher St. Jerome exercised his wit, anticipating his countryman Signor Gayda. How St. Augustine became the protagonist, and how he was driven step by step to declare himself for the extreme form of Predestination, with which the Church would have nothing to do, is all told here.

4. The Saint : Gregory of Nazianzus ; country gentleman, scholar, poet, orator, letter-writer ; also a bishop, notwithstanding his really shocking opinions of bishops and synods, who wrote to the police at Constantinople expressing the wish that bishops might emulate the dignity and spirit of the police.

Together the four studies present a vivid picture of a vivid century. It is not, however, a book for the very pious, those for whom every story must point a moral, and history confirm their preconceptions. It is for those who love a tale and detest the moral, and who want history to be objective.

C. E. E.

Recusant Poets. By Louise Imogen Guiney. (Sheed & Ward. 18s. net.)

THIS admirably produced volume gives us the privilege of sharing the very thoughts of our recusant forefathers, enshrined in their own words, the verses ranging from those of St. Thomas More to Ben Jonson. The majority are but minor poets, as the introduction frankly admits, yet "the historical must needs outweigh the purely artistic value of this collection". It has a unique value, in so much as "Quite an appreciable fraction of the poems . . . were written

in prison, some in the immediate expectation of death; while others, again, celebrate the memorable scenes of martyrdom. *Campion* is sung by one who will follow him to Tyburn. Southwell and Walpole utter in English verse the devout beliefs they are soon to write more imperishably in their blood." The book is a monument of patient, fine scholarship, the fruitful collaboration of many years between Miss Guiney and Father Geoffrey Bliss, S.J., entailing immense labour in research. It is also a treasury of rare, valuable information about English recusants, full of interesting facts such as that of John Donne's descent from St. Thomas More's sister, and the far-reaching work of recusant printers and publishers like Richard Verstegan and John Fowler, whose brave zealous wife was daughter of St. Thomas More's secretary, John Harris. Yet another of More's circle represented here was that jolly witty fellow John Heywood, with his Chestertonian spirit and felicitous word-play, some of it possibly More's own. Gregory Martin, friend of *Campion* and tutor of Blessed Philip Howard, contributes a set of very pertinent "Questions to the Protestant" in swinging rhyme.

These pages show the loss suffered by English literature when the Reformation crippled that great movement initiated by More and his friends of the true New Learning, here surviving in heroic struggle against persecution and desolation. Lord Vaux of Harrowden's "mournful lyric" is distinguished as "supplying the original of the three stanzas mouthed by the old First Gravedigger in *Hamlet*", while Nicholas Grimald's *Christus Redivivus*, "published and performed in Germany, is the direct ancestor of the Oberammergau Passion Play". He was grandly eulogized as "a poet mindful of the Divine Glory, not his own".

For haunting melody few of the poems can equal, and none surpass, the "clanging rhymes" of the popular Marching Song of the Pilgrimage of Grace, with its rugged north-country strength and marvellous economy of words. The poetic quality of the editor's own prose is an outstanding feature of the detailed notes introducing each group of poems. That doughty controversialist Myles Hogarth is touched off perfectly in three words: "loud, verbose efficiency": apt apology is made for "our jolting extracts"; but some phrases are surprising, and less happy, notably that statement that Blessed Philip Howard's daughter Anne was "baptized a Protestant". This should be corrected.

It is good to learn that this precious volume does not conclude Miss Guiney's bequest to Catholic English literature, for we are told that it is hoped to issue a second volume next year; to this all readers of the present volume will look forward with eager anticipation.

NOEL MACDONALD WILBY.

PLOWDEN

(22 September, 1936)

To H. St. L.

By the lone trackway in the dusk of even,
Where the late St. John's wort shed its latest gold;
Onny rippling through her aisles of alder
Known and loved of old.

On we went gladly in the dusky dewfall,
By the banks with harebell starred, the tangled grass,
Silence slowly deepening all around us,
While our footsteps pass.

Till we came late upon the little footbridge,
Heard the country voices greet at Horderley,
Where the mist upon the water meadows
Widened dreamily.

Climb the road slowly o'er the skirts of Longmynd;
Then the long descent, the ridge beyond the river;
Moon and stars above the brooding woodlands
Made the stillness quiver.

Where the tall poplars by the bridge at Plowden
Under tingling starlight trembled to the breeze,
All the silence throbbed with sound unspoken,
Wordless melodies.

Where the true guesthouse nestling by the coppice
Gave us homeward welcome graced with candlelight,
Hostelry of Avalon beholding
Starry-splendid night.

Holyland that, through the age of treason,
Unto Christ the King kept steadfast fealty,
In whose inmost heart of country stillness
Fain to dwell is He.

H. E. G. ROPE.



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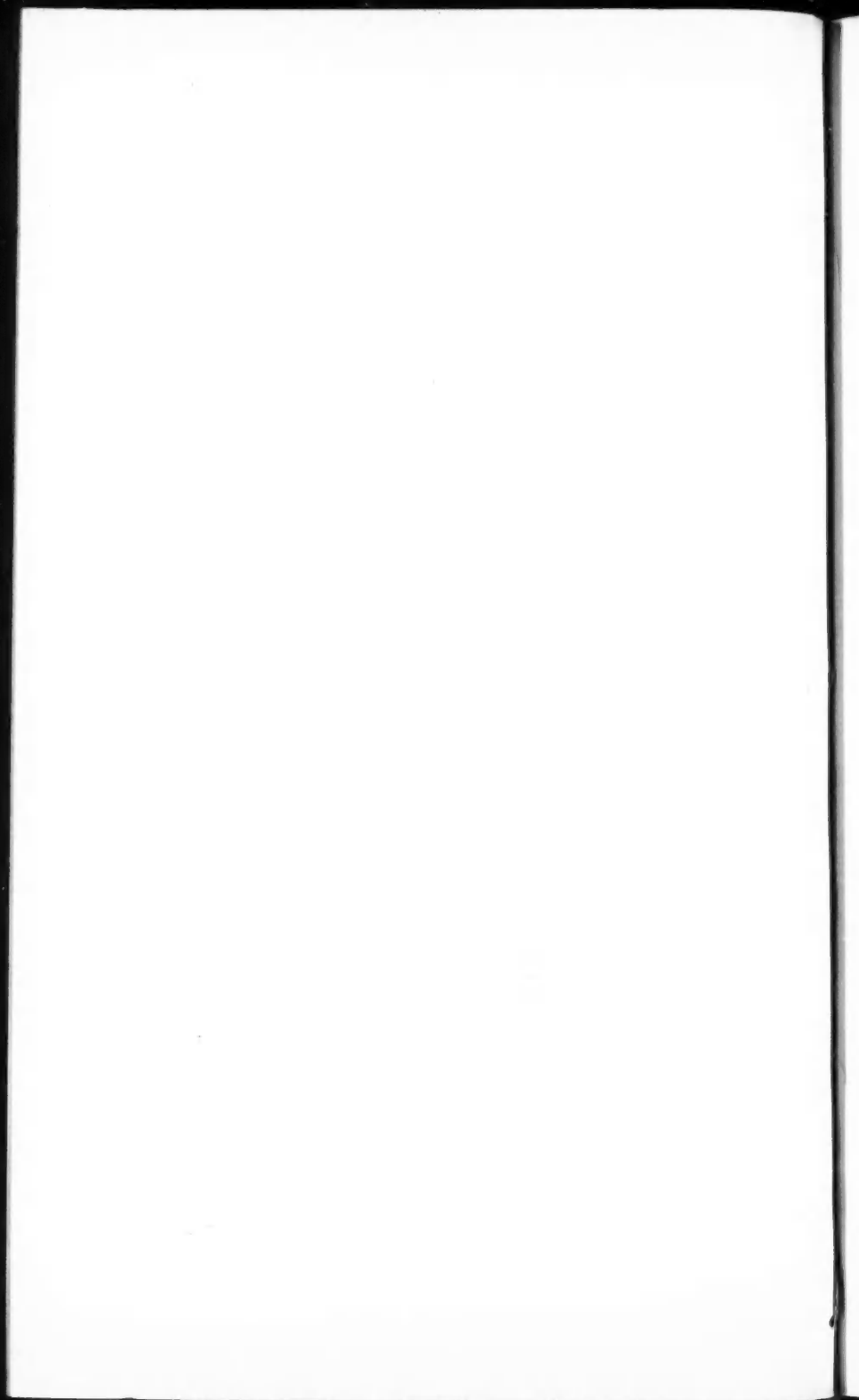
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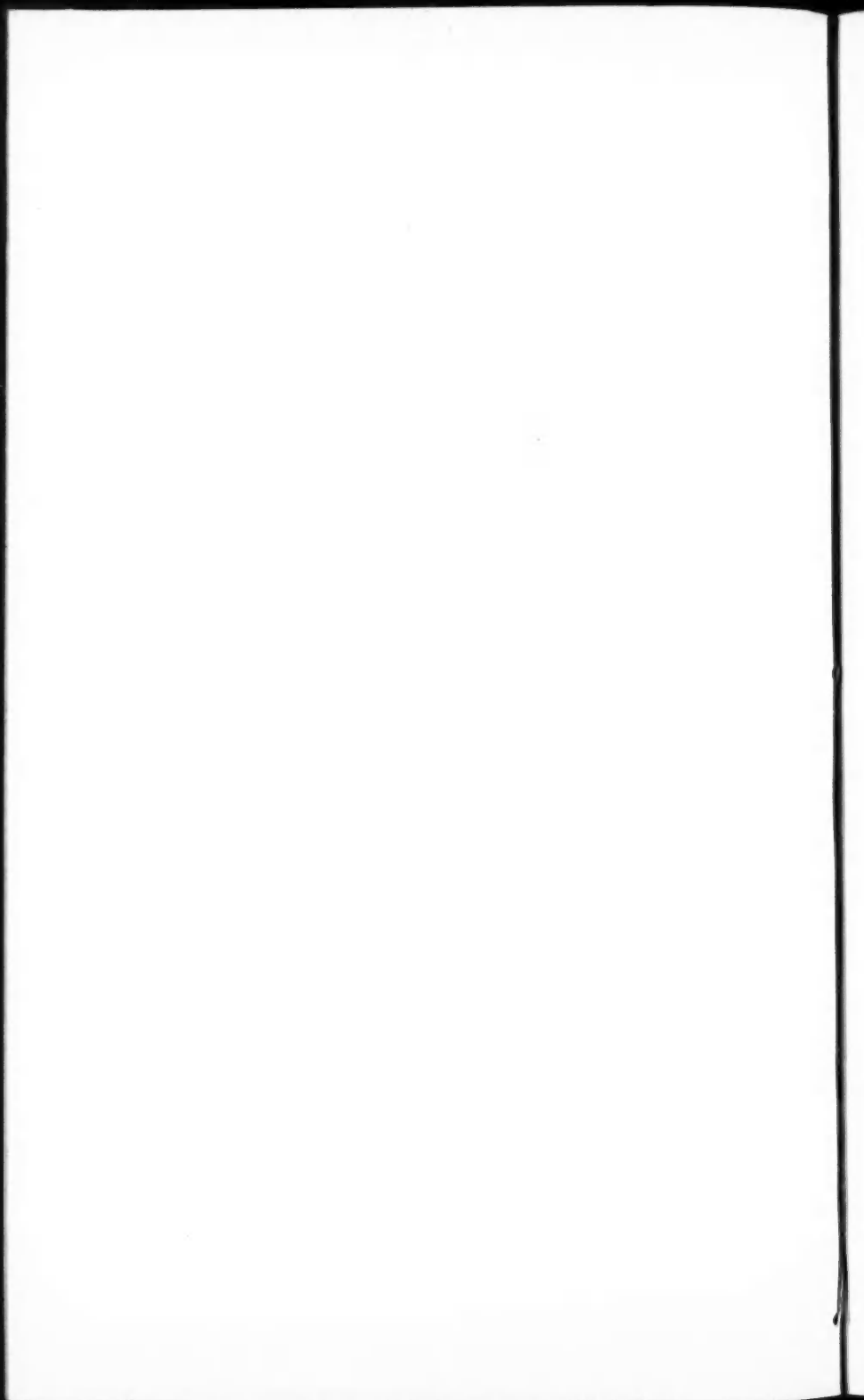
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